DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 056 556 FL 002 456

TITLE Workpapers: Teaching English as a Second Language, Volume V.

INSTITUTION California Univ., Los Angeles.

PUB DATE Jun 71

NOTE 161p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58

DESCRIPTORS *Applied Linguistics; Aptitude Tests; *Bilingual Education; Composition Skills (Literary); Computers; Contrastive Linguistics; Dialects; *English (Second Language); *Grammar; Interference (Language Learning); *Language Skills; Learning Difficulties; Mexican Americans; Phonemics; Phonetics; Reading; Second Language Learning; Teacher Education; Teaching Techniques

ABSTRACT

This is the fifth volume of work papers on the teaching of English as a second language. The topics are varied and cover a large area of related subjects. The titles in this volume include: "The Interaction of Dialect and Style in Urban American English," "Trends in English Abroad," "Some Thoughts on Bilingual Education for Mexican American Children in California," "A Lecture on Reading," "Composition: Control and Communication," "Application of Question and Answer Drills to Group Work," "Two Functions of English Articles," "Instant TESL: or, The Possibilities of Short-Term 'Training'," "A Language Aptitude Test for the Japanese (GTT)," "Transfer and Interference as Special Cases of Induction and Substitution," "Difficulty, Contrastive Analysis, and Predictability," "Problems in ESL and TESL at UCLA: A Seminar Report," "Cockneys and Cockney Rhyming Slang: Some Unscientific but Affectionate Observations from the Notebook of a Sabbatical Traveller," "Phonetics vs. Phonemics in the ESL Classroom: When Is Allophonic Accuracy Important?," "Experience, Knowledge, and the Computer," "notes," and "A Reading Program for ESL Primary Students." Abstracts of masters theses are also included. (VM)

ED0 56556

Volume V

WORK PAPERS

Teaching English as a Second Language

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University of California, Los Angeles

June 1971

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PREFACE

Workpapers, Volume V, contains contributions not only from the UCLA TESL staff but also from an ex-visiting professor, Henryk Kałuża, an ex-student, Ken Murakami, and a visiting scholar, Jiro Igarashi. Abstracts of recent M.A. theses are also included.

The central purpose of Workpapers V remains as before: to obtain feedback from colleagues. But this series of papers serves other purposes as well. It keeps us in touch with our ex-students and colleagues. Now it offers an outlet for their work as well. But most of all, it provides all of us with a forum for our diverse interests and approaches.

Workpapers, as expected, has not escaped budget cuts. This year, instead of hiring an extra typist to take on the job of preparing the final copy for photo offset, we have had to impose on our regular staff. We are very much indebted to Elna Schwellenbach and Joan Samara for typing some long and difficult manuscripts.

The Staff

Additional copies of Volume V may be obtained from:

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THE INTERACTION OF DIALECT AND STYLE IN URBAN AMERICAN ENGLISH

Bradford Arthur

Extensive research efforts within the past ten years have been aimed at understanding dialect variation within American urban society. Such research has focused on the linguistic correlates of social class, ethnic and racial grouping, and age in major U.S. cities such as New York, Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Urban sociolinguists have recognized the importance of including some measure of stylistic variation in their study of urban language, but the relationship between stylistic variation and dialect differentiation and of both of these with language learning in urban areas is still largely unexplained. The following discussion restates and interrelates some current assumptions regarding dialect and stylistic variation and language development in American urban areas, specifically dialect differences between Black and Caucasian residents of urban areas. My purpose here is not to add new information about urban language but instead to express some new implications about urban dialectology from existing evidence and to evaluate some of the current educational policies in inner-city schools based on a re-evaluation of linguistic evidence. It will be convenient in this discussion to consider separately five different assumptions about dialect in urban areas.

1. First assumption

Every dialect of English contains a range of stylistic variants which can be viewed at least in part as falling along a single continuum with terminal points labeled "formal" and "informal". This is a stronger claim than simply that dialects contain different styles appropriate for different social situations. This model of a one-dimensional continuum of stylistic variation, although it is probably inadequate to account for all of the linguistic variation within a dialect which have been subsumed under the general heading of stylistic variants, seems in English and perhaps in all languages to subsume a substantial majority of such variants.[1] Support for this one dimensional continuum of stylistic variation can be found widely in traditional views of style. The kinds of stylistic labels given words in prescriptively oriented dictionaries certainly implies a sequence from "formal", or more generally unlabeled, to "colloquial" to "slang" and finally to "illiterate". A similar continuum or range is suggested by the terms "high register" and "low register" used widely in England to refer to formal and informal styles. Martin Joos (1961), although he suggests at least four different dimensions of intra-dialect variation, focuses on only one of these--the stylistic variation from "frozen" through "formal", "consultative", and "casual" to "intimate".

A different sort of confirmation for the assumption that stylistic variation can be described along a single continuum has emerged from the view of the phonological component of a grammar developed by Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle (1968). In this model of phonological structure phonological rules operate in an ordered sequence to derive the various

pronunciation of a morpheme from a single underlying phonological representation of that morpheme. An interesting characteristic of such sequences of ordered phonological rules in a grammar of American English is that the less formal the pronunciation to be derived the greater the number of rules generally involved in moving from the underlying representation to the pronunciation. The formal pronunciation of an English morpheme seems to be that pronunciation closest to the underlying phonological form if "closer" is defined as involving fewer optional phonological rules. The various phonological rules corresponding to processes of assimilation, vowel leveling, cluster simplification, contraction, metathesis and deletion all lead from a more formal to a less formal variant. The linear continuum from formal to informal seems to correspond to the sequence of pronunciations produced by applying more and more optional phonological rules to the same underlying phonological matrix.

No comparable analog for the stylistic continuum is obvious in either the lexical or the syntactic components of current grammatical descriptions of English. For example, there is no obvious correlation between the number of optional transformational rules applied to a deep structure and the degree of informality of the resultant surface-structure sentence. However, the same one-dimensional range of stylistic variation can be seen operating both in the selection of lexical variants and in the choice of transformationally different surface structure variants of the same underlying structure. Consider the set of sentences represented schematically by the following sequence:

$$\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Whom}\\ \text{Who}\end{Bmatrix}\ \begin{Bmatrix}\text{did}\\ \text{do}\end{Bmatrix}\ \text{you}\ \begin{Bmatrix}\text{wish}\\ \text{want}\end{Bmatrix}\ \text{to}\ \begin{Bmatrix}\text{speak}\\ \text{talk}\end{Bmatrix}\ \begin{Bmatrix}\text{with}\\ \text{to}\end{Bmatrix}\ ?$$

In all cases the upper lexical item is the more formal alternative. By choosing only upper lexical items, we produce the most formal variant of this set of sentences:

Whom did you wish to speak with?

By choosing only lower options, we produce the least formal variant:

Who do you want to talk to?

By choosing both upper and lower items, we produce various intermediate points on this continuum of lexical variation.

Who did you want to speak to?

Whom did you want to talk with?

It is not immediately obvious whether such stylistically intermediate variant sentences would be ranked by all speakers of English at exactly the same point on a continuum of formality.[2] But the continuum of formality represented in this example would, I believe, be universally acknowledged.

This same sentence complex embodies at least one example of syntactic variation associated with the dimension of style--the variation in the placement of the preposition either at the beginning of the sentence before its object or at the end of the sentence. Placement at the beginning is the more formal variant. A co-occurrence restriction in my dialect blocks sentences beginning:

*To who . . . . .?

but I find clearly acceptable sentences of the form:

Who . . . . to?

Placing the preposition at the beginning of the sentence precludes one of the

stylistic variants of the interrogative pronoun.

The change in pronunciation from:

you = [ju]

to

you = [jə]

or from

want to = [want:u]

to

want to = [wanə]

is again clearly associated with a change from a more to less formal way of speaking. Also, the use of the informal phonological variants seems to preclude the occurrence of some of the more formal lexical variants:

*With whom [də jə wanə] speak?

On the other hand,

Who [də jə wanə] talk to?

is clearly acceptable.

2. Second assumption

The speech variety occurring within urban areas of the United States referred to as Black English, Afro-American English, or Negro-Non-Standard English differs from the speech variety in the same urban areas generally referred to as Standard English in that these are two different dialects. The term dialect is here taken to imply a range of stylistic variation, and it is further asserted that the two dialects--Standard English and Black English--differ in part according to the linguistic signals used to express stylistic variation. Some comment is needed here to avoid misunderstandings caused by different interpretations of the terms Black English and Standard English. For some sociolinguists the term Standard English or Standard Language implies not a dialect but instead a formal speech variant superimposed on a number of different dialects. Such a definition is not intended here. The term Standard English as it is used here and as it is usually used by both linguists and educators represents the actual language of a particular group of speakers.[3] It is in fact specifically referred to as a dialect both by a linguist like J. L. Dillard who wants everyone to learn what he calls "consensus dialect" (1969, p. 84), and by other linguists like Thomas Kochman, who oppose forcing all students in inner-city schools to learn what he calls "prestige dialect" (1969, p. 87). These linguists disagree about the value of Standard English and about the name it should be given, but they agree that it is a dialect.

The concept Urban Black English also requires clarification. Studies of the speech of Black urban Americans have demonstrated a considerable range of linguistic variation among speakers. Black English is a meaningful term only if it is understood a cluster of linguistic features at least some of which are likely to be present in the speech of Black urban residents and few of which are likely to be present or present to the same degree in the speech of non-Black residents of the same urban area.

3. Third assumption

The two dialects, Urban Black English and Urban White Standard English,

are more similar at the formal end of the stylistic continuum than at the informal end. For at least some speakers of these two dialects, the most formal styles are virtually identical.[4] To consider a concrete instance, the sentence

I'm going to go.

is pronounced in virtually the same way by both speakers of Urban Black English and speakers of Urban White Standard English when these speakers are using their most formal style. The phonological differences, if any, would be in the degree of diphthongization of the "I" and perhaps in the point of articulation of the nasal in "going". But when speakers of these same two dialects say this same sentence in their most informal style the differences are far more pronounced. The Urban Black English pronunciation would be:

[amõ go:]

whereas the Urban White Standard English pronunciation would be:

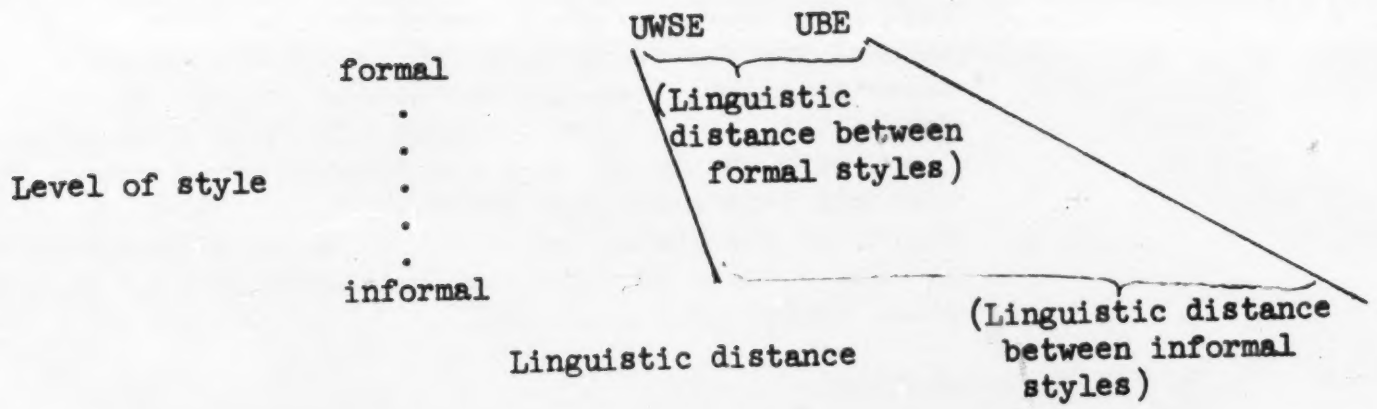
[aŋɪnə goʊ]

In both of these examples of informal style, the initial vowel glide has been lost: [ə̆ɪ] >[ə]. But the dialects differ as to the frequency with which monophthongization occurs at different stylistic levels. In Black English the process occurs with much higher frequency especially in more formal styles. Similarly, in both dialects the consonant cluster [mg], produced by the conjunction of <u>am</u> and <u>going</u>, has undergone assimilation. But the probable direction of assimilation differs for the two dialects. For most speakers of Urban Black English, assimilation is to the labial consonant; whereas for many speakers of Urban White Standard English the cluster assimilates to the velar consonant.

The process of dialect convergence in more formal styles was noted by William Labov (1966). Labov's concern in this study was primarily with the urban dialects associated with socio-economic class membership. He discovered a wide range (approximately 10 to 90%) in the average frequency of fricative pronunciation of "th" among members of different social classes in the less formal stylistic range. But he discovered considerably greater uniformity (approximately 90 to 100%) in the most formal, self-conscious, reading style (Labov: 1966, p. 260).

A similar kind of convergence was noted between Urban Black English and Urban White Standard English as spoken in Detroit. Walter A. Wolfram (1969), although he was only secondarily interested in stylistic variation and did not have data which clearly defined the range of styles represented in Labov's study, does note a consistent tendency for the speech of urban Detroit Negroes, especially members of the middle class, to approach Urban White Standard English more closely in more formal styles.[5]

Another form of evidence for this closer approach of formal styles can be deduced from statements made earlier in this paper about phonological rule ordering. Ralph W. Faisold (1969) presents considerable evidence that the underlying phonological representations of morphemes in both Black English and Standard English are identical. If, as has been argued earlier in this paper, such underlying phonological representations are closer to formal pronunciation than to informal pronunciation, then it follows that the formal pronunciation in the two dialects should be less divergent than the informal. The association between Urban Black English and Urban White Standard English can be represented schematically as a pair of diverging lines:



In this diagram I am also suggesting that the direction of movement from informal to formal is similar although not identical for the two dialects and that the linguistic "distance" between the formal and informal styles of Urban Black English is considerably greater than it is for Urban White Standard English. I have noted, for example, that in urban areas where the White Standard dialect pronounces a diphthong in words liek hide and ride and a dorso-velar nasal in present participle -ing, the most formal registers of Black English also are likely to contain the diphthong and dorso-velar nasal in at least a high percentage of occurrences. Moreover, in both dialects, the likelihood of the diphthong and dorso-velar nasal decreases as the style becomes less formal. However the extent and rate of the decrease is greater for speakers of Black English than for speakers of White Standard English.

4. Fourth assumption

Children learning to speak first learn to produce the less formal stylistic range of their dialect. Only as they approach adulthood do they fully master the more formal styles. Many speakers of a dialect, depending in part on their socio-economic position and educational experience, may never develop the most formal varieties of their dialect. This is the position taken by William Labov (1966). Labov claims that the more formal stylistic variants do not begin to emerge clearly until after the speaker has reached adolescence. This assumption is not surprising since the development of a child's language would seem logically to correlate with the development of the demands for language placed on him by his society. Young children in American society use language only in informal or intimate situations whereas older children are placed in increasingly formal situations in which they are expected to use language.

This same sort of developmental acquisition of more formal styles appears to be associated with the loss of pure "basilect" described by William A. Stewart (1964). Within the range of language used by American Negroes, Stewart distinguishes between basilect speech which is furthest from Standard English and acrolect speech which is closest to or virtually identical with Standard English. Stewart states (pp. 16-17) in part:

> It does not take much careful observation of the dialect distribution in the city before it becomes evident that the consistent use of basilect patterns even in predominantly lower-class neighborhoods is largely restricted to young children. This is so much the case, in fact, that adults in

> such neighborhoods often assume that basilect is simply the natural way for young children to speak. At about the age of seven or eight, however, noticeable dialect shifting begins to take place. . . . The ultimate effect of this process of linguistic change is that the speaker moves out of "pure" basilect into a dialect level which is higher up in the hierarchy (although the result may still be quite distinct from acrolect and the speaker may continue to engage in a great deal of basipetal switching).

5. Fifth assumption

True and complete bidialectalism entails an active command of the full stylistic range of two different dialects. It follows from this assumption that a speaker who commands both Urban Black English and Urban White Standard English must, among other things, have two very similar but slightly different sets of phonological rules which operate on the same underlying phonological structures but which differ sometimes in their form, sometimes in the phonological environments in which they apply, and sometimes in the frequency with which they apply at a given level of style or in a given environment. A similar sort of complex separation of two nearly identical linguistic systems must also exist at the levels of syntax and lexicon. A speaker who commands the stylistic range of two different dialects is rare if indeed he exists at all. There is no clear proof that the human language capacity can maintain a separation between two such closely related systems of stylistic variation. Most apparent bidialectals have learned only a single style or limited range of styles in their second dialect. Such mono-stylistic speech is characteristic of stage imitations of dialects. Moreover, whereas true dialect speakers exhibit inherent variability between two or more alternate pronunciations or grammatical structures at the same stylistic level, the dialect imitator uses only one of these variants. As Labov (1969, p. 60) observes: "Behavior which is variable in actual speech becomes stereotyped in novels and plays, so that forms which occur 30-40% of the time will occur 100% of the time in the writer's treatment." Many speakers of Urban Black English command what most speakers of Urban White Standard English consider a formal style of the White Standard dialect. Such a command may involve second dialect learning in that differences between the formal styles of Black English and those of White Standard must be bridged, but according to arguments presented earlier in this paper, these differences are not great. A command of formal Standard English in speech is widely achieved by speakers of Black English, especially upper-middle-class or upward mobile speakers of Black English.

One interesting consequence of this mono-stylistic command of Standard English is that Black speakers must train themselves not to introduce those phonological, syntactic and lexical markers of less formal styles since such markers would differentiate their speech from the norms of Standard English. Because the introduction of these markers is normally an automatic consequence of the decreasing formality of a social situation, the maintenance of Standard English formal pronunciation tends to become more difficult as it becomes less

appropriate for the social situation. Black English speakers using formal Standard English must train themselves either to maintain all linguistic contacts with non-Blacks at a very formal level or to suppress the linguistic correlates of their increasing social informality. Such efforts put a constant strain on the speakers, and rarely are they completely successful. This strain produced by efforts to suppress natural stylistic variability may add to the tensions and anxieties already present in much of the inter-racial and inter-ethnic communication in the United States. It is common experience among Whites to feel a sense of stiffness and formality in the speech of Black acquaintances and associates even when the relationship should lead to a less formal, more relaxed form of speech. A White observer in an inner-city school is struck by this same sense of exaggerated formality in the speech of Black school teachers. A Black college student came to me recently with the request that I help her improve her English. I told her truthfully that to my ears her English was Standard. She agreed but explained that as soon as she made friends with someone or became excited it was impossible for her to maintain that way of speaking. She could not withstand the impulse to introduce verbal markers appropriate for the social situation. Still another instance of this same phenomenon is recorded by San-Su C. Lin (1965). Lin describes (pp. 120, 122) the case of 'Susan', who was being given special training in Standard English pronunciation. "By the end of nine months 'Susan' had acquired a firm habit of enunciating her words so distinctly and meticulously that her speech gave an impression of artificiality. . . . She was criticized by some as being too artificial."

6. Implications

The five assumptions sketched above have implications for language use and language development within inner-city schools. First, efforts to create true and complete bidialectal speakers of Black and Standard English are unlikely to succeed as long as Standard English is defined to include a complete range of stylistic variants. Even if a program to create such bidialectal speakers did succeed, it would almost certainly place inordinate additional learning demands on inner-city Black school-age children. Programs such as the one operating in Chicago to train Black children systematically to distinguish "every-day talk" from "school talk" would appear questionable at best. In fact, this program makes a parody of Black English by defining as every day talk only those stylistic variants of Black English which are not also possible stylistic variants of Standard English. A child who varies between "I ain't" and "I'm not" in his informal speech is told that only "I ain't" is everyday talk and that "I'm not" is school talk. (Board of Education, City of Chicago, p. 17.)

Another implication of these five assumptions is that lower elementary school age children who speak Urban Black English are likely to fall completely outside a White Standard English speaking teacher's speech norms. The Black English speaking child commands only the informal styles of his dialect, and it is precisely these less formal styles which are furthest from the dialect of the teacher. When the teacher hears other children using the informal speech forms that occur within his own dialect, he is unlikely to recognize these as in any way unacceptable or even informal since most stylistic variants are subconscious. On the other hand, a child speaking Black English who uses equally informal speech forms will be perceived by the teacher as speaking a noticeably different form of English.

Finally, again according to the five assumptions described earlier, it is predictable that as the Black English speaking child matures towards adulthood, his language will also extend itself more towards formal Standard English norms. This is not simply a consequence of the pressure of a school system. It is a natural extension of speech which would occur without formal prodding or training.

It is not the intent of this paper to offer glib answers to complex questions concerning language training in inner-city schools. However, at least three guidelines seem obvious from this discussion. First, it is desirable for teachers to encourage the natural development of more formal dialect variants for all of their students. Such encouragement should certainly not mean denying the validity or acceptability of the less formal dialect variants that all children bring with them to school. Furthermore, teachers should be trained to understand and to accept the informal styles used by all of the students they encounter. A surprisingly large number of White inner-city school teachers admit that they have difficulty understanding the speech of many of their students. Teacher training programs should give teachers assistance in acquiring such understanding. Finally, urban Americans should be encouraged to recognize the emergence of dialect differences in inter-ethnic communication for what they, in fact, are: an indication of developing friendship and informality. When speakers, of all dialects, come to this recognition, they may come to recognize further that such differences in dialect are to be welcomed rather than to be repressed or scorned.

NOTES

1. The concept of a one-dimensional stylistic range may seem self-evident. The discussion and defense of the concept here is included both because of its importance for later assumptions and arguments presented in this paper and because at least some sociologists question the one-dimensionality of stylistic variation. Joshua A. Fishman (1971), for example, associates stylistic variations with different social roles that the speaker of a dialect assumes. Such roles do not fit neatly along a single continuum. In fact, a speaker of English seems to impose a one-dimensional stylistic system in his language upon a multi-dimensional network of social roles.
2. The statement that the degree of formality of a sentence can be determined simply by counting the number of informal variants is obviously an over-simplification. At least three additional complicating factors must be considered in any model describing the intermediate stages on a stylistic continuum. First, the occurrence of one stylistic variant may preclude the occurrence of another. Second, different stylistic variants may differ in their importance in establishing stylistic level. Such differences in importance might be represented by associating different constants with different stylistically significant features. Finally, stylistic level seems to depend on the probability of occurrence of various stylistic options within whole utterances. Judgments about stylistic level would therefore require a corpus large enough to establish probability.
3. The term dialect is potentially confusing since many people who consider themselves speakers of Standard English reserve the term dialect for regional or social varieties of English other than their own. They may be unaware or

reluctant to acknowledge that their own speech contains a range of styles. Terms like "good" English, or "correct" English, or "proper" English used generally to refer both to Standard English and to formal Standard English illustrate this reluctance to acknowledge stylistic variation within Standard English. In Joos (1961) Miss Fidditch personifies such reluctance.

4. The social class of a speaker of Black English appears to be an important factor in predicting the proximity of his formal speech to Standard English. Evidence from Wolfram's Detroit study (see Note 5 below) suggests that the formal speech varieties of lower class Detroit Negroes do not converge with White Standard English to nearly the same extent as the formal speech of middle class Negroes. Other studies suggest that a partial explanation of this lack of convergence may be that more formal styles are less fully developed in the speech of lower-class speakers. Such a conclusion could be drawn both from comments made in Labov (1964) and from experimental results obtained by Williams and Naremore (1969) and Williams and Wood (1970).

5. The following chart taken from Wolfram (1969, p. 75) illustrates one of the clearer examples of dialect convergence in more formal styles. This chart represents the percentage of final consonant cluster members absent when the cluster is followed by a consonantal environment.

The abbreviations should be read:

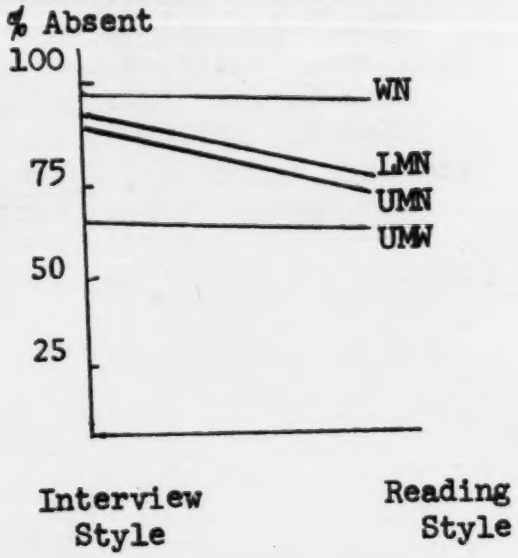
WN = working class Negro,

LMN = lower-middle class Negro,

UMN = upper-middle class Negro,

UMW = upper-middle class White.

Of the two styles represented on the chart, "reading style" is the more formal.



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TRENDS IN ENGLISH ABROAD

J. Donald Bowen

We are of course aware that the English language serves needs beyond those of communication for some 300,000,000 of its native speakers.[1] At least another 300,000,000 use it regularly as a second language or are able to communicate in English when the need arises.[2] This is an estimated total of 600,000,000 people, approximately one fourth of the world's population spread widely in all parts of the globe, making English the most useful of the world's languages of wider communication. It was typical, but nonetheless noteworthy, that English was the language of the proceedings of the 1955 Bandung Conference, in which twenty-nine countries of Africa and Asia (in none of which was English native to their inhabitants) represented 1,400,000,000 people (Barnett, 1964, p. 8). The same pattern has been followed in numerous other international conferences.

This preeminence of the English language is in large part an accident of history, a consequence of the political situation in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in Europe. The position of English as the world's paramount international language may not be permanent. Indeed history has witnessed many changes in the patterns of assignment to the role of international language. At one time English was relatively insignificant; in the words of Richard Mulcaster, an eminent sixteenth century London educator, English was a "tongue of small reach, stretching no further than this island, and not there over all."[3] Indeed the English philosopher and statesman Francis Bacon wrote in 1620 in his Novum Organum that when men were better educated the English language would be obsolete.[4]

English does have staying power that would surprise Mulcaster and Bacon, and its pertinacity is greatly enhanced by the fact that a fantastically tremendous amount of the knowledge mankind has amassed is available in English, either because English was the language of original publication or because English was an attractive medium for translation. Macaulay was simply stating the facts about English when he wrote in 1835 that "whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded."[5] Today, 135 years later, the knowledge available in English has increased many times, almost by an exponential factor. Any man, or for that matter any nation, that aspires to an awareness of the world, will find English unexcelled as a medium to gain and retrieve information. Not only in education but in daily life, English is important. More than 70 percent of the world's mail is written and addressed in English, and more than 60 percent of the world's radio programs are in English (Barnett, 1964, p. 7). In addition, virtually every capital city in Asia and Africa (excepting former French colonies) has an English language newspaper, often the leading paper of the country.

When one considers the role of the preeminent language of wider communication in conjunction with the explosive rate of technological change that is literally inundating the world with new knowledge and information,

the advantage of a highly developed and functioning language can be appreciated. Technology feeds on itself, so that the rate of change, which language must keep pace with, is ever increasing. A man living today will see a doubling of everything newly made on the earth each fifteen years, so that within a 75-year life-span a person will witness this doubling five times. Ninety percent of the scientists who ever lived are still alive today, and they are producing torrents of information that must be encoded in a language, published, diffused, and applied (Toffler, 1970, p. 27). The number of scientific journals and the amount of scientific publication, like the other products of our society, doubles every fifteen years. English is presently the most efficient language in which this recording and diffusion can be accomplished.

English is not, however, without competition as a means of communication, especially in countries that have won their independence near the midpoint of the present century. Nationalism has its linguistic expression, and many countries rightly feel that an indigenous tongue is preferable as a vehicle of communication within a country. Manuel Quezon, first president of the Republic of the Philippines, expressed public regret that he could address all of his countrymen only in a foreign tongue. Today the Philippines is the scene of a vigorous campaign to develop a national language, Pilipino, based on a language indigenous to the Islands: Tagalog. Analogues of this effort are evident in other countries, particularly in Malaysia, Indonesia, Israel, Tanzania, Ireland, Pakistan, India, and Ceylon. In the last two countries the question of which local language to designate as official has been the immediate cause of bloody riots. India tried by constitutional mandate to name the day when Hindi would completely replace English as the official language (the 1950 constitution specified 1965 as the date when English would be discontinued), but was forced to reconsider when it became evident that the switchover was not feasible, that the entire national budget would not be adequate to implement the proposal. In making the announcement that English would continue for an indefinite period as an "associate official language," Nehru termed English "the major window to the outside world" and added it would be perilous to close that window (Barnett, 1964, p. 5). Gokak (1964, p. 5) reports that in a speech to the all-India Punjabi Conference in 1961, Prime Minister Nehru employed the "window on the world" figure: "All regional languages must be developed and promoted. But that did not mean that English should be discarded. To do that would amount to closing a window on the world of technology . . . Foreign languages served as a window on it and to suppose that translations could take their place was a mistake . . . It was no use getting into an intellectual prison after achieving political independence."

Granting the motivations to retain English, the aspiration for an indigenous national language is so strong that some countries place its development high on the list of national priorities, and assign scarce resources to tasks of language engineering. An enlightening account of efforts in East Africa is presented by Whiteley (1969, pp. 85-87), which involves the composition of dictionaries and grammars, provision for an enlarged vocabulary, the selection and cultivation of standard forms from a range of dialect possibilities, and encouragement for use in as many phases of the national life as the language can fulfill.

Those of us who are interested in the teaching of English for use as a world language must be aware of the legitimate claim of national languages and be prepared to accept their roles and functions. We have seen that in some countries English has served the needs of national communication, usually in the absence of viable alternatives or because English was a neutral outsider not directly participating in the competition of local groups or tribes for political (and, in consequence, linguistic) supremacy.[6] In many of the developing countries indigenous languages are appearing or will shortly appear to challenge on home grounds the exclusive use of English as an official language. Clifford Prator accurately describes the present situation:

> In one developing country after another the government is making strenuous efforts to establish an indigenous language (Filipino, Bahasa Indonesia, Malay, Hindi, Sinhalese, Arabic, Swahili, etc.) as the preferred medium of communication within the national boundaries. As more and more attempts are successful, the importance of English and French will increasingly reside in their usefulness as channels to the outside world.[7]

Of particular interest is the form which the transition of English from official to foreign language may take. Where the use of a local language is strongly advocated, the transition can be quite sudden. This has been true in India and Malaysia, where vigorous official support has been applied to the changeover.

But even where English was not an official language, but occupied the position of favored foreign language, political considerations can determine language policy decisions. An example of an abrupt change of this kind was seen in Egypt in 1950, when the treaty of 1936 between Egypt and England was cancelled and hostilities followed. The number of class periods for English in Egyptian secondary schools was reduced from eight to six, and the pass point on the English test in the very tough school leaving examination was lowered from 50 percent to 40. In 1956, after the Suez crisis, the staffs of the English-medium schools were Egyptianized. The percentage of native English-speaking teachers in these schools dropped from over 90 percent in 1950 to almost zero after 1956 as expatriate teachers were expelled. The action of deemphasizing English in the curriculum and in the school leaving examination was unopposed by local educators, because it was felt that, especially in the private schools, English had been overemphasized before 1950 at the expense of Arabic; thus reducing the role of English was an overdue correction in the cirriculum. English was in effect made an elective in the secondary school diploma program, since a student with a fail in English could still pass the examination. Thus students could enter the university without having any effective command of English.

The result after a few years was a marked deterioration in the proficiency level in English of students entering the universities. This was recognized as undesirable, particularly in the English-medium higher level science schools, and in the early 1960's an attempt was made to upgrade secondary-school instruction by the preparation and introduction into the schools of linguistically-oriented teaching materials. In 1970

it was decided that English, attested by a solid examination pass, should be reinstated as a required subject for a preparatory school certificate and for a high school diploma, regardless of which college a student planned to attend. The tendency to deemphasize English has been reversed mainly, though not exclusively, because it has been clearly recognized that English is a valuable tool for learning, that source materials are crucial in successful higher education programs, and that in almost all subjects there are more books and text materials published in English than in any other language.

In considering what might be the outcome in certain sub-Saharan African countries where a local language is likely to be given official status, one is tempted to look to the Egyptian experience for hints of what might transpire. Perhaps this is inadvisable, since there were special conditions in Egypt that are unlikely to be duplicated elsewhere. Perhaps one should be wary of making any predictions, warned by the wisdom of the ancient Chinese proverb that says: "To prophesy is extremely difficult - especially with respect to the future." But there is always a chance for one more reenactment of the Hegelian train of thesis (English as an official language), with a reaction of antithesis (a marked deemphasis of English), followed by synthesis (the reinstatement of English in coexistence with the newly designated official language through a redefinition of roles).

I look to see such a redefinition in the former British colonies of East Africa. Tanzania, as Whiteley has pointed out, is well advanced in the development of Swahili as a national language, and the use of Swahili is aggressively pushed in many areas of national life. Kenya appears to be following the same policy. There have during the past year been official statements by the ruling political party that Kenya will follow suit and formally adopt Swahili as its official language, and a timetable for its diffusion has been announced. Already in Uganda there are strongly voiced suggestions that Uganda too should adopt Swahili as its official tongue.

If, as can be expected, English ceases to be accepted as the preeminent official language of countries like Kenya, Uganda, and later possibly Zambia, there will undoubtedly be changes and adjustments in the roles filled by English and the newly designated national language. The changes may be effected quickly or may evolve over a period of time, depending on local circumstances. What will some of these changes be? The first is likely to be in the school curricula, in the relative roles of English and the official local language. Less English will be required, possibly none at the elementary level, and the local language (or possibly languages) will be pressed into service as medium of instruction. This could have the perhaps unexpected effect of improving English instruction since scarce resources could be assigned to the smaller classes at the higher grades. A retrenchment could also serve the interests of English as an international language of wider communication, since better instruction to fewer students could relieve the pressures that encourage deviant local standards, which in turn tend to make English less serviceable for communication (especially oral communication) across national boundaries. Another possible benefit of a reduced presentation of English in the schools might well be the stimulation of efforts to improve the efficiency with which the language is taught, given the need for better methods and materials to cover the ground in less time and fewer years at higher levels in the school systems. A serious effort to do just this has been made in Egypt.

But outside of the schools, what other changes can be expected? One early modification may be a language switch in government offices, where the business of the state is conducted. The use of an official language for government business is relatively easy to specify and to control. Official documents, correspondence, postage stamps, currency, etc. can be required in the national language. This has been done in Malaysia. Another switch might be the language of the legislature, of legislation and legal proceedings. This latter may come more slowly, since codes and records in English can be converted only by costly and time-consuming translation, and then only if the necessary specialized vocabulary has been developed and accepted.

Another area likely to be affected is radio broadcasting, where the local language(s) can be promoted and English curtailed by government decision. If the area can support a film industry, local languages can be encouraged by requiring theaters to show a certain percentage of local films, as is done in the Philippines. Or foreign films, if the market justifies it, can by requirement be dubbed or presented with subtitles, though this of course is expensive.

Foreigners who cannot speak the local language will be placed at a disadvantage and will find it increasingly difficult to find useful employment. We can expect lots of posturing by public officials who will stress the virtues and importance of the national language and its appropriateness for social and cultural development, though they quietly send their own children abroad or to exclusive private schools to be educated in English. Why? Because English will continue to be very important.

There will always be a continuation of need for extensive competence in a world language. Many educational resources will be available only in English, newsmen will need access to international wire services, anyone in government policy-making positions or anyone with responsibilities in foreign affairs will need English. Any research scholars, university personnel, staff and students, will be severely handicapped without English. Professional people, if they can get an appropriate education at all, will be seriously disadvantaged if they cannot communicate easily with colleagues abroad. Libraries and librarians, entertainment personalities and sponsors, anyone concerned with the growing business of tourism, anyone who aspires to foreign travel. In short, anyone who hopes to rise on the socio-economic ladder or exert leadership in almost any field will need English. Any diminution in the production of English speakers in the schools, if coupled with an enlarged role for the national language, will trigger an immediate increased demand for interpreters and translators, for teacher trainers, for curriculum specialists, for persons with special skills to work with development and technical assistance. The list of those who would find an international language helpful and profitable can be expanded almost indefinitely, and a deemphasis on English in the schools has the effect sooner or later of revealing the importance of the need.

This is why a country that precipitously abandons a world language will likely have second thoughts when the disadvantages of a shortage of linguistic skills begins to be felt. This is why a reaction is likely to suggest a rethinking of a linguistically reduced curriculum, and why countries should move with prudent caution when they plan to modify the

linguistic ecology. This is also why there should be plenty of work on the international scene for well-trained and competent English teachers and educational specialists in the foreseeable future.

As a profession we should be training ourselves to help, when assistance is requested, in the planning of language transitions, particularly in countries where the need of a local official language is strongly felt, and the local linguistic resources make such a decision feasible (i.e., where a local candidate for national language has a fair chance of success). As pointed out above, the demotion of English from a position of preeminence is not necessarily good or bad in itself, and indeed offers chances to improve instruction. The important thing is that decisions should be thoughtfully taken and wisely implemented, with deliberate attention to the knowledge of action, reaction, synthesis, consequences, etc. available from past experience. In this way language policy and language engineering can be made to serve the best national and international interests of the country that is willing and able to provide the best planning available.

NOTES

1. This paper was read at the Fifth Annual Convention of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, New Orleans, March 1971.

2. An idea of the extent of English-language teaching throughout the world can be formed from the citation of a few figures concerning organizations involved in this activity. During 1959 the United States Information Service through its binational institutes and language centers conducted English classes for 339,000 adult students in 54 countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Another 570,000 secondary-level students were indirectly served through 52 seminar/workshops in 28 countries for 3,800 teachers. The Peace Corps in 1969 had 1,630 volunteers on English-teaching assignments in 33 countries. The Department of Defense employs 60 advisors and coordinators in military English training programs in 20 countries. Other U.S. agencies such as the Agency for International Development, sponsor other programs. Private foundations made development grants to five foreign governments and to individual institutions in six other countries. (Kreidler and Pedtke, 1970, pp. 8-9)

   Many non-English countries maintain very large English language programs. This is of course true where English is the medium of instruction in the schools, as in the Philippines and in many countries of the British Commonwealth. But there are also substantial programs in non-English speaking countries: There are approximately 70,000 teachers of English in the secondary schools of Japan. (Marckwardt, 1963, p. 25) All the secondary school students of Ethiopia, approximately 80,000 study in English.

   Other English-speaking resource countries (particularly Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) have programs of sponsorship or assistance to developing nations. Several countries of northern Europe (Holland, Scandinavia, etc.) are also important sources of English-teaching assistance.

   On the communist side of the ideological fence a similar range of activities in support of English is noted. "In many cities Russian cultural offices compete with British and American centers in advertising English courses." (Barnett, 1964, p. 7) "Within the Soviet Union itself, schools offer English from the fourth or fifth grade on; and in some of the larger cities, it is the one compulsory language in the curriculum." (op. cit., p. 16) Both Russia and Red China beam their propaganda broadcasts in English in an effort to win friends and influence nations in the uncommitted areas of the world.

   The total picture shows a strength for English that is unmatched in history, and it is probable that English will retain its preeminence for a long time into the foreseeable future.

3. In 1852, as quoted in Mackay, 1967, p. 39.

4. As quoted in Mackay, 1967, p. 39.

5. As quoted in Spencer, 1963, p. 30.

6. For a discussion of such a situation in Zambia, see Mwanakatwe, pp. 210-213, passim.

7. Prator, in Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, 1968, p. 469.

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SOME THOUGHTS ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN IN CALIFORNIA

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This paper is truly a 'workpaper'. It is written with the hope that it will provoke discussion, perhaps even arguments, that will lead to some clarification of what will be required of our educational institutions to provide the Spanish speaking Mexican-American (MA) children in our midst the capacity to compete academically with their Anglo peers. In presenting this workpaper I shall rely on my recent study, observations, and thinking to set forth a number of assumptions as to what seem to be the crucial aspects and what seem to be the highly desirable aspects of the MA child's education. In so doing I shall expose my ignorance, or at least my naiveté, of studies or of facts that may be known to others. This possibility will justify the presentation of the paper, if, in fact, those areas of ignorance are brought to my attention.

I take it as given that the average MA child has not fared well in our public school system. It has been well documented that by the time he reaches the sixth grade he will perform two or three grade levels below national norms on subject matter achievement tests. The drop-out rate of MA children who enter secondary schools is much higher than that of Anglos and the percentage admitted to college is, of course, much lower. The net result is that the possibilities for MA's to compete for prestige positions in business, education, government, and in the professions is minimal and the lower socio-economic status of the MA is perpetuated. We will agree, then, I suppose, that we have been remarkably unsuccessful in educating the majority of MA children who have entered our schools.

This lack of success has not, of course, gone unnoticed. During the past decade or so, and especially during the last five years, a number of remedial plans have been put into action. I dare say that all such programs have resulted in some academic gains for these children. I cannot but believe that any special attention given to these children and their problems has resulted in raising their scholastic potential. For, as I shall argue later, perhaps one of the crucial factors that has been missing in the many classrooms, schools, and even, perhaps, in the homes, has been the strong conviction that MA children really can succeed in our schools. I am sure that those scholars and community leaders who have worked so diligently to establish special head-start, English-as-a-second-language, or bilingual education programs, as well as those who have devised exciting new curricula, have been precisely those people who have had the highest expectations for MA children--<u>if the proper conditions prevail</u>. These conditions as defined and put into practice

are extremely varied. A look at Gaarder's (1970) article on bilingual education, or at Anderson and Boyer's (1970) treatise on the same subject, or at Leslie's unpublished master's thesis (1971) will quickly reveal the multitude of solutions that have emerged in response to the problem of educating children who come to our schools speaking a language other than English. As stated earlier, nearly any of the projects dedicated to the resolution of the problem are likely to result in some success. But, as suggested in a recent article by Tucker and d'Anglejan (1970):

> Diverse innotative approaches to bilingual education have been tried in many places, here in North America and abroad; but very few have been systematically evaluated or described. Longitudinal evaluations have been noticeably lacking. As social scientists with personal experience in both domestic and foreign bilingual programs, we believe that administrators and educators must begin to devote more of their attention to defining accurately the characteristics and objectives of their programs and to setting up long-term evaluation procedures. Parents as well as funding agencies should insist on accountability of this type.

I concur wholeheartedly with this admonition. Whatever tact we take, whatever program we put into effect must be definable in terms that can be measured so that the results of our efforts can be compared with other programs and any weaknesses in our plans can be identified and subsequently eliminated.

I think it is important that we now attempt to establish the relative importance of English for the MA in the scholastic milieu. For the MA child to compete favorably with his Anglo peers, it is obligatory that he gain a proficiency in English equivalent to that of his Anglo peers. This is true as long as his ultimate success in high school and college depends upon his ability to comprehend and manipulate concrete and abstract concepts presented to him in English. However attractive it might appear, it would be folly to think that MA children in this country will have the opportunity to choose the language of instruction, either Spanish or English, for his higher education. Realistically, we must assume that his eventual academic and professional success is closely correlated to his ability to function in English much the same way as a native speaker of English does. That other factors in our society might also greatly influence his chances for success is not denied nor underestimated, but academic success in an English language educational system must require native-like facility with the English language.

On the other hand, for a number of compelling psychological, sociological, and political reasons, it is highly desirable and reasonable that MA children be given ample opportunity, in the school ambient, to maintain his first language and to become explicitly aware of his cultural heritage. The implications of such a statement are in sharp contrast to those times and places where the MA child was made to feel

that his language, his customs, and his social values were beneath contempt and were not to be in evidence (subject to physical as well as m.. tal punishment if violated) on the school grounds. There is even evidence now (Pidilla and Long, 1970) that MA students who have maintained these home traits are more likely to succeed academically than those who have, for whatever reason, been deprived of them. Therefore, I assume that any program designed for the education of MA children should include a component in Spanish and that they should receive instruction that permits them to see themselves in a positive historical and cultural perspective; namely, as heirs of the highly esteemed Hispanic and Amerindian cultures. One, perhaps controversial, note should be added to this paragraph, however. It would appear that all of the psychological, sociological, and political needs could be met and the child could still fail to compete successfully in our total school system if he were deficient in English. Thus, English is given the priority rating of <u>obligatory</u> and Spanish is rated <u>highly desirable</u>.

Let me now make one huge, sweeping, complicated, quite iffy statement that I shall later qualify as well as use as a basis for making a number of suggestions for an experimental educational program for Spanish speaking MA children:

> Mexican American children, in general, are unquestionably capable of both acquiring native speaker competence in English (without special ESL instruction) and competing in subject matter areas in English (without any special adjustments to the current curricula being used for Anglo students) when taught by monolingual English speaking teachers (who need no special training other than four below) if a) they are taught as if they were English speaking children and b) if the teachers, the school administrators and the children's parents <u>expect</u> that they can accomplish these goals.

If this statement were acceptable, and I doubt that it will be for many people, then the following suggestions for programs for MA children, insofar as we are concerned here with the students' acquisition of English and knowledge through English, might also be acceptable:

1. MA children should be immersed in an English curriculum precisely comparable to the curricula currently employed in Anglo schools and this should be done at the kindergarten age (assuming no prior head-start program).
2. The teacher of the English curriculum should not use the children's language in their presence.
3. MA children should, when possible, receive their early instruction in classes made up entirely of Spanish speaking MA children.
4. Teachers, school administrators, and parents should be given (by an instructional program

or by means of group discussion sessions) every opportunity to understand their role in instilling and then, subsequently, sustaining in the children a strong, positive self-image and the understanding that the goals of the school are within their reach. (To some degree, this may mean convincing the teachers and parents that MA children can succeed even though they have considerable historical evidence to the contrary).

Before discussing these assumptions and suggestions, let me say again that they are separate and, perhaps, for the first two or three years of elementary school, independent of the Spanish component which I have said is highly desirable and should be a part of the children's school experience but which I shall not discuss further here.

There is ample experimental and anecdotal evidence that children are capable of simultaneously acquiring a second language and gaining an education in that language. To do so has been a regular pattern in a large number of previously colonial states in Asia and Africa and it is still a common pattern in multilingual countries where one language has come to be the national language of instruction. Furthermore, there have been an enormous number of non-English speaking students who have in fact accomplished these feats in our school system without fanfare and without special assistance. It has been assumed by many people around the world that to learn to function in another language is no heroic undertaking. What is surprising to many is that we consider it such a tremendous feat to learn to function in just two languages when they have had to learn four or five to carry out their personal and professional affairs.

Part of the experimental evidence that I use to support my assumptions comes from the extensive studies carried out in and around Montreal and reported on by Lambert et al (1970). It would take too much space to review their findings adequately here. For now, suffice it to say that Anglo-Canadian (AC) children who were taught as if they were French (French teachers, books, tests, curricula) have acquired near native speaker competence in French and compete favorably with their French peers in all subject matter areas. It should also be noted that after receiving some instruction in English beginning in the second grade, these children compete favorably with their English peers in both language arts and in subject matter areas. The French teachers of these AC children were not especially trained for this task, they did not teach French in some structured fashion that might resemble English-as-a-second-language instruction, and they did not use English at any time with the AC children. Nor did they use a specially designed curriculum for these children; rather, they used the same curriculum that is currently being used in French Canadian schools in Montreal. Finally, the children in these classes were all AC--they did not have to compete at any time with French speaking children who had a common language with the teachers.

There is additional experimental evidence that can be brought into this discussion to both reinforce the notion of the feasibility

of simultaneously learning in a foreign language and learning the language and the notion of beginning such instruction at the earliest possible time. The longitudinal studies performed in the Philippines and reported on by Davis (1967) substantiate both of these notions. Especially important is the evidence that those students who did not begin receiving instruction in English until their third or fifth years were put at a serious disadvantage in later years in junior-high and high school where all instruction is in English. Davis said, as a part of that report:

> Proficiency in English is directly related to the number of years in which it is used as the medium of instruction...It is clear that any change in the number of years in which English is used as the medium of instruction will effect the facility and effectiveness with which the pupils can profit from instruction in English in secondary schools and colleges.

As suggested above in the discussion of the Lambert studies, there may be great advantage for the MA child if all of the members of his class are having the same language switching experiences as he. That is, all of them are receiving instruction in a foreign language and the teacher is introducing new materials and new goals at the same rate for all students. I find it hard to believe that English speaking teachers do not tend to pace the introduction of instructional materials to those who respond soonest. In a class where there are both Anglos and MA's, obviously the Anglos will respond quickest to instruction in English and the teacher will be inclined to react to their readiness for the next step in the program. The obvious results would then be that the MA very soon falls behind, appears slow to the teacher and to himself and in general finds himself in the unfortunate position of representing the slow group in the class--a position he may never be able to vacate. One need only read the study carried out and reported on by Rist (1970) to realize the frightening consequences of this possibility.

There are, of course, possible advantages for the MA who studies in mixed Anglo-MA classes--more opportunities to learn English from the Anglos in the class, more opportunities to make friends with Anglos which will carry over to the playground, thus providing additional opportunity and need for English. But at the moment, I would suggest that these advantages are overshadowed by the disadvantages mentioned above.

So far in this paper, I have ignored the obvious differences that exist between the experimental groups I have cited in Montreal and the Philippines and the MA children in California. It may well be that because of these differences (which would most often be described, I believe, in terms of socio-economic status, and pre-school preparation for the school curriculum) there is little reason to hope that the assumptions and suggestions I have outlined above are appropriate for MA children. I do see that the students are different--the socio-economic status of their parents is different, the role of

their home language in the greater community is different, the historical opportunities for success for members of their ethnic group in this predominantly Anglo society are different, and, perhaps, there are many others. Yet, in part for reasons discussed above, I am optimistic that in spite of these differences, MA children can successfully compete with their Anglo peers in our school system given that the teachers, parents, and school administrators expect them to. Perhaps the most urgent modification of our current practices would be the design and development of training programs that would result in dramatic positive changes in the expectations of success for MA children on the part of teachers, parents, and administrators.

As suggested earlier, it would be unwise to put the assumptions and suggestions made above into practice without a carefully designed, long-term program that could be systematically evaluated. But that is precisely what I think should be done. If my assumptions proved to be correct, the implications are extremely important in terms of our current expenditure of effort as well as human and monetary resources. For example, if my assumptions, or better, if the results of implementing my assumptions, proved to be correct, it might suggest that the funds that are being invested in the development of special curricular materials may be largely unnecessary. Further, it might suggest that special English-as-a-second-language programs for very young children are superfluous and the resources spent on them might better be spent on, say, the Spanish component considered highly desirable above. Furthermore, it might suggest that the selection and training of teachers might take on new dimensions. That is, it might suggest that what is crucial is that the teacher who is given the responsibility of teaching MA children must clearly understand that her attitude toward the MA child and her treatment of him in the classroom vis-a-vis other students must be such that the child is given every reason to believe that he can and will succeed. Given such a teacher, the success or failure, I hold, of the MA child will then not depend on the differences considered above but on the child's inherent capabilities as an individual rather than on the fact that he is an MA in California.

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Tucker, G. R. and A. d'Anglejan. "Some Thoughts Concerning Bilingual Education Programs." McGill University, 1970, (Mimeograph).

A LECTURE ON READING*

Evelyn Hatch

I've put an outline on the board--not because I want to lecture at you for two hours but to help keep us on the point. I'd like to get through the whole thing.

I'm not going to talk about a definition of reading. It seems a waste of time except that your opinion on what reading is--a decoding process or a comprehension process--will make a difference in what kinds of materials you'll want to use.

I'm not going to talk about the mechanics of reading--eye movements and all that--either. If you're interested, you can read Allison Andrew's excellent literature review (1970). Nor am I going to talk about readability. Alice Gosak's paper (1970) is on this, or you can ask Brad Arthur for the chapter of his book on readability.

The first point I want to talk about is what the classical arguments have been on why some children can't read, then talk about the arguments on "readiness," then the strategies teachers use in teaching beginning and remedial reading--the programs available, then the strategies children seem to use in learning to read, and then what teachers do in the classroom which may help or hinder the child's learning to read. Finally, I'd like you to help me figure out what ESL teachers can do in teaching reading that might be better suited to the child's needs than what the regular classroom teacher does.

Why don't some children learn to read?

Why don't some children learn to read? Weiner and Cromer (1970) have summed up the classical arguments as four "d's"--defect, deficiency, disruption and difference.

The "defect school" says that the child has a physiological, sensory or neurological problem, or he may suffer from chemical imbalance. There aren't any pills to be given; usually the child is called dyslexic if he consistently exhibits enough of the symptoms associated with the "disease": reversed word reading (_saw_ for _was_, _on_ for _no_), mirror writing, letter confusion (_b_ for _d_, _p_ for _q_, _m_ for _w_), word omission, word perseveration, addition of words not in the text. Some children, classified under the dyslexic cover term, can read from flash cards but not from a book, can read sentence strips on the floor but not if they are put on the chalk tray and certainly not if they are in a book. Dyslexia is such a frightening term. I remember the first article I ever read about it. My god, I thought, my son has dyslexia! He was reversing letters like mad at that point. But no one really knows what dyslexia is. The symptoms, which so many children exhibit in learning to read, are, however, more frequent and persistent than with the successful reader. These children are usually sent to special reading clinics, suddenly cure themselves, or are put in the "hopeless" category by their teachers.

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* This paper is a transcription of a lecture given in English 380K, April, 1970.

The second cause is deficiency. That is, the child is deficient and something must be added so that the child can learn to read. He is "culturally deprived" so we must take him on lots of field trips to add a lot of middle class experiences. He is "linguistically deprived" so we must add a lot of language. Nobody has suggested that he is "economically deprived" so we must add some better-paying jobs. But, we do have a variant in "nutritionally deprived" so we must add some breakfast. I like this last one, especially if it's not Rice Krispies. This is the school which claims, also, that the home is deficient. Nobody talks to the child, or, alternatively, too many people talk to him but don't talk right. There are programs to teach children how to talk and classify (cf. Bereiter-Englemann's Headstart Model), programs to teach parents how to teach children how to play, talk, and classify, and classes in how to be a "super-mother."

A third cause is disruption. This time something is to be removed, not added. The child has emotional problems, he is hypertense, over-anxious, etc., and this must be removed before the child can succeed in learning to read. This has led to widespread prescription of tranquilizers in a large number of schools. When the use is widespread enough--as in Omaha last year--the teacher-school-nurse-parent-doctor agreement on such medication has to be investigated. Perhaps failure in learning to read is not worth massive doses of medication.

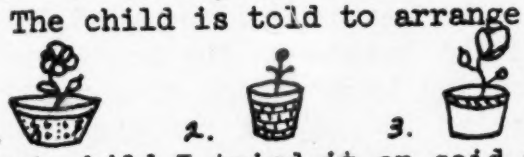
The last cause is difference. This school says the child's language and the child's culture is different from middle-class language and culture, not deficient. The child comes to school with his own language well developed, his own culture well developed, but it does not match the school norms. Two solutions are suggested: change the school or change the child. Both are difficult to do. The one side says that we have failed miserably at changing the child in the past for two reasons--we did not allow him to retain his first language (or dialect) and culture while acquiring the second language (or dialect) and culture, and the presentation of teaching materials was based on poorly chosen and sequenced materials. The Chicago Second Dialect plan (oral language and reading) is an example of this approach. The other side claims that we must change the school. We must first develop the child's already strong abilities in his first language and culture. He should learn to read in his first language (or dialect) first and then transfer these skills to reading standard English. The evidence seems to be accumulating that it is easier to teach reading in the first language first. See, for example, the study by Modiano (1968) for the most famous experiment in this area. The findings have been replicated by Barrera-Vasquez (1953), and in the San Antonio study reported by Pryor (1968). The Marysville report (1967) also claims success in both their aims--teaching standard Spanish, then reading in Spanish, standard English, and then reading in English. In fact, the director of this program, Eleanor Thonis has written a book on teaching reading to ESL children which should be on the market soon.

If the superficiality of the "4 d's" is not clear at this point, I think it will be once we have discussed the strategies children use in learning to read.

Readiness

Another set of opinions have grown up around the "readiness" issue. Reading is a complex task and we get the child "ready" to read by giving him a series of visual and auditory exercises which "task analysis" has

convinced us are related to reading. Look at the chapter in Dacanay and Brown (1963) on reading and you will find a set of visual and auditory exercises. Look at the syllabus for Education 124 and you will find more. Read Frostig or listen to Bob Wilson on figure/ground discrimination, both visual and auditory. Teachers have workbooks full of exercises to teach left to right eye movement and the sweep movement from the end of one line to the start of the next. We have children color items in a row from left to right. We ask them to connect dots by drawing a line from left to right. We give them a game of "cat and mouse" to teach the sweep. We give them plastic shape pieces to sort by shape. We give them sandpaper letters to feel for shape discrimination. We ask them to tell us what is missing in pictures (a chair with three legs, a cat with one ear). We get them to put pictures in a sequence. You've seen the one with the three flower pots in a row. In the first is a full-grown flower, in the second just a plant with a couple of leaves, and in the third the flower looks like a rose in bud form. The child is told to arrange the pictures in proper order:



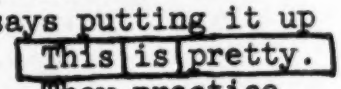
(Answer: 2, 3, 1)
The first child I tried it on said they were all right like that. In the first picture is a flower and somebody picked it. That made everybody feel bad, so daddy brought a new one. The second child ordered them 1, 3, 2--the flower bloomed and then died. It took quite a while before I could find a "ready" child who put them in the prescribed order.

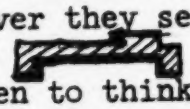
For auditory "readiness" we ask children to give us rhymes for words, words that start the same, and answers to riddles ("I rhyme with hair. You sit on me. What am I?"). We give them longer and longer sentences to repeat. We play "Aunt Ella's Trunk" with each child adding a new item to those found in the trunk until nobody can remember everything in the right order. Or we have them join the "1st Time Club" where they listen to and follow a complicated direction ("Pick up the eraser, run around the room, tap Jane on the shoulder three times, circle the table, and come back home") and if they complete everything without having to have the directions repeated, they get to join the club.

Lots of these readiness activities are fun in themselves but as shown by the studies at Wisconsin (Venezsky, 1970), none of these activities correlate significantly with initial success in learning to read. The only readiness activity that does is the ability to say and identify the letters of the alphabet. This doesn't stop teachers from doing readiness activities, nor should it--children enjoy them. But it should stop teachers from identifying certain children as not "ready" to read. It also explains the heavy emphasis on alphabet learning on "Sesame Street."

Strategies Teachers Use

Once the child is "ready," what does the teacher do to "teach" him to read. This depends in part on the state-adopted textbooks, her training set, and her own creativity. Let's look first at the broad programs available to her. We'll discuss the basal (look-say), phonics, linguistic, SRA, LEA, ita, individualized reading, and as many others as time permits. My examples are drawn directly from Jean Chall's book Learning to Read: the Great Debate (1969). Moffett's The Student-Centered Language Arts Curriculum, K-13 (1968) is another excellent source to look at if you'd like a complete analysis of reading programs.

Basal Readers. You will remember that our last state superintendent of schools as well as R. Flesch of Why Johnny Can't Read fame (1955) blamed reading failure on Dick, Jane, Baby Sally, Spot and Puff--the famous cast of the basal readers. They appear elsewhere in various color washes as Rosa, James, Juan, Belinda and Ruff. The developers of the look-say readers define reading as abstracting meaning from the printed page and the teaching techniques reflect this. The lesson begins with the teacher introducing the word pretty (new vocabulary) by complimenting children on items of clothes they might be wearing. Then she directs their attention to one of the children's pictures. "This is pretty," she says putting it up on the bulletin board. Under it she places the word cards 

The children label items in the room that they find pretty. They practice reading the cards. The teacher has the students frame the word "pretty" with their hands wherever they see it. She may comment on the shape of the word which is striking  but she will spend most of the time encouraging the children to think about the meaning of the word "pretty." The teacher will then write the name of the lesson on the board and tell the students that today they will be reading about "something pretty." The students then are to look at the picture at the top of the page and guess what the "something pretty" in the story will be. She will encourage the children to talk about the picture and what they think will happen in the story. Then she will, perhaps, read the story to the group or have them read it silently. She may or may not ask for group or individual reading aloud. Then she will let the children chose parts and act out the story. Hats and dress-up clothes will be available. She will emphasize "pretty" and other words in the story. She will encourage children to use pictures to help them figure out what the story says, she will have them dramatize the story, she will encourage the children to use the word to label items in the classroom.

Phonics Readers. "If we taught children the right way--that is, phonics--all children would learn to read." That's a favorite statement of many educators and parents so let's look at it next. Reading here is the decoding process--sounding out the words. In this set of books, the teacher teaches the major sounds of each letter or letter combination for the alphabet. This is called teaching the "alphabetic principle" or "teaching the phoneme-grapheme correspondence rules." As ESL teachers you're one ahead because you know what the phonemes of English are supposed to be, the problem now will be in learning the graphemes used most frequently for the sounds of the language.

In this lesson (see your handout) the teacher is teaching the oo sounds, short oo as in cook and long oo as in food. She begins my reminding the children that they know the two o sounds (long as in so and short as in something). Today they are going to learn long and short oo. She writes (prints) the word cook on the board and underlines the oo. She asks for other words that sound like that. If the children do not immediately respond she asks, does look sound the same? Hopefully the children start supplying words until about ten are on the board. The students then go to a worksheet of a list of ten _oo_ 's and they try to think of words, or copy the words off the board. Next is a riddle game, the teacher gives a riddle which can be answered by one of the words on the board ("You can read me. I'm a _____?"). She circles each word as it is chosen as an answer. More worksheets may have matching games, blank fill-ins, etc.

Something Pretty

Mother said, "Look, look.
See this."

"Oh, oh," said Sally.
"It is pretty."

"Yes, yes," said Jane.
"Mother looks pretty."

"Look, Sally," said Jane.
"Here is something pretty.
Something pretty for you and me."

"Oh, Jane," said Sally.
"I want something.
I want something red.
I want something blue."

To illustrate many of the points made above about "conventional" basal readers and guidebooks, we reproduce "Something Pretty," a story on pages 21 to 24 of The New Fun with Dick and Jane, *Primer of the 1956 Edition of* The New Basic Readers, *together with the teaching suggestions from pages 82 to 86 of the Guidebook for* The New Fun with Dick and Jane *by Gray, Monroe, Artley, Arbuthnot, and Gray. Copyright © 1956 by Scott, Foresman and Company, Glenview, Ill.*

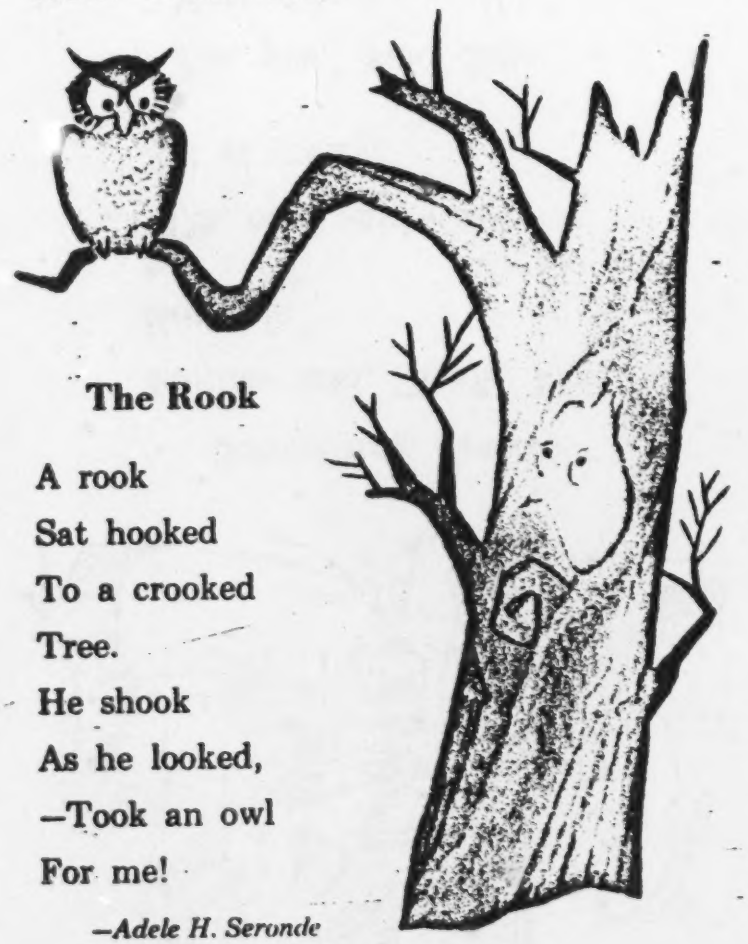
oo—as in food

food moon boot hoot loot root toot
mood too proof cool pool tool stool
spool room bloom boom gloom spoon
soon loop droop stoop hoop goose
loose broom shoot coop scoop boost
groove smooth troop tooth choose
coo poor

102

oo—as in cook

foot soot good hood book stood
wood cook hook shook took look
brook crook wool



The Rook

A rook
Sat hooked
To a crooked
Tree.
He shook
As he looked,
—Took an owl
For me!

—Adele H. Seronde

101

To illustrate some of the points made above about phonics-oriented basal readers, we reproduce several pages (101–106) from the pupil's edition of the 1–1 book of Basic Reading together with the teaching suggestions (pages 81 to 88) in the Teachers' Edition for the 1–1 book. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1963.

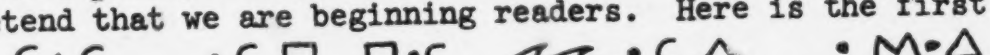
The _____ made a nice cake.
She _____ her lunch to the beach.
He reads a _____ every day.

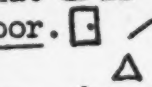
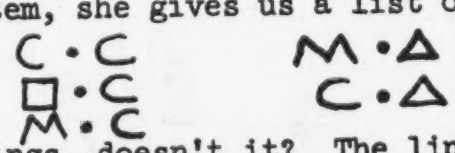
Match

beginnings	endings
c	ood
b	ook
l	
t	
br	
w	

This whole process is then repeated for the oo sound of food. Following this, they get to complete a poem: "Said Gerald, "Good, _____ and then keep cool
go chop the _____ beside the _____...."
Following the poem, they turn to the poem about the rook. The teacher has the students read it silently and then guess what a rook might be. Finally, they read the poem in unison. While the teacher is instructed to be sure the children understand what they read, this is obviously not the primary aim of the series. Reading is the ability to decode.

Linguistic Readers. The next set is called the linguistic approach, not because it has anything to do with Linguistics 100, English 122 or anything you might think of as linguistics. Rather, it's because it was written by the famous American linguist, Leonard Bloomfield. Bloomfield was pretty angry when he looked at the books that were being used to teach his son. No wonder he can't read! The patterns are not clear; there aren't enough examples of a pattern to let anyone abstract the principles that are operating. Let's pretend that we are beginning readers. Here is the first page.



The patterns are quite repetitious. The teacher tells us that the sentence is "Nan and Dan want a cat." To help us remember, she gives us a few visual cues as Virginia French Allen suggested in her talk at the last TESOL conference. Remember that C is the first sound in Chose, she says. □ is the first sound in door.  is the first sound in water. M is the first sound in King. △ is the first sound in tree . Then to help us remember the system, she gives us a list of words that follow the same linguistic pattern. 

It does simplify things, doesn't it? The linguistic readers do not especially encourage the child to sound out the words, rather each page gives him lots and lots of exposure to the patterns: tan, fan, van, man, can, Nan or cat, at, sat, mat, rat. Flip cards (not unlike the three-part man with the changing heads, trunk, and legs) are available which change initial, medial, or final letters in block patterns. Once again comprehension is not the primary goal. How many children are any more acquainted with a van than with a rook? The fact that can is not /æ/ in the sentence context does not keep it out of the set. It's funny that a series written 30 or 40 years ago is now the latest thing to the publishers.

I should have mentioned that some of these programs have somehow become identified as appropriate for one group of students but not another. The phonics program is used by most teachers with their "best" reading group. The linguistic materials are used in many remedial programs--especially in high schools, for some reason.

LEA. The Language Experience Approach has also been called most appropriate for "disadvantaged" children. This approach assumes that children will be highly motivated to read if they produce their own materials.

The Cat on the Van

Dan is on the van.

Nat is on the van.

The pan is on the van.

The cat can bat the pan.

Dan can pat the cat.

The man ran the van.

Page 36 from Charles C. Fries, Agnes C. Fries, Rosemary G. Wilson and Mildred K. Rudolph, Reader 1 *of the* Merrill Linguistic Readers, *Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., Columbus, Ohio. Copyright 1966.*

37

A rap. A gap.

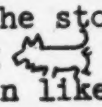
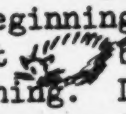
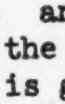
Dad had a map.
Pat had a bat.
Tad had a tan cap.
Nan had a tan hat.

Nan had a fat cat.
A fat cat ran at a bad rat.

Can Dad nap?
Dad can nap.
Can Pat fan Dad?
Pat can.

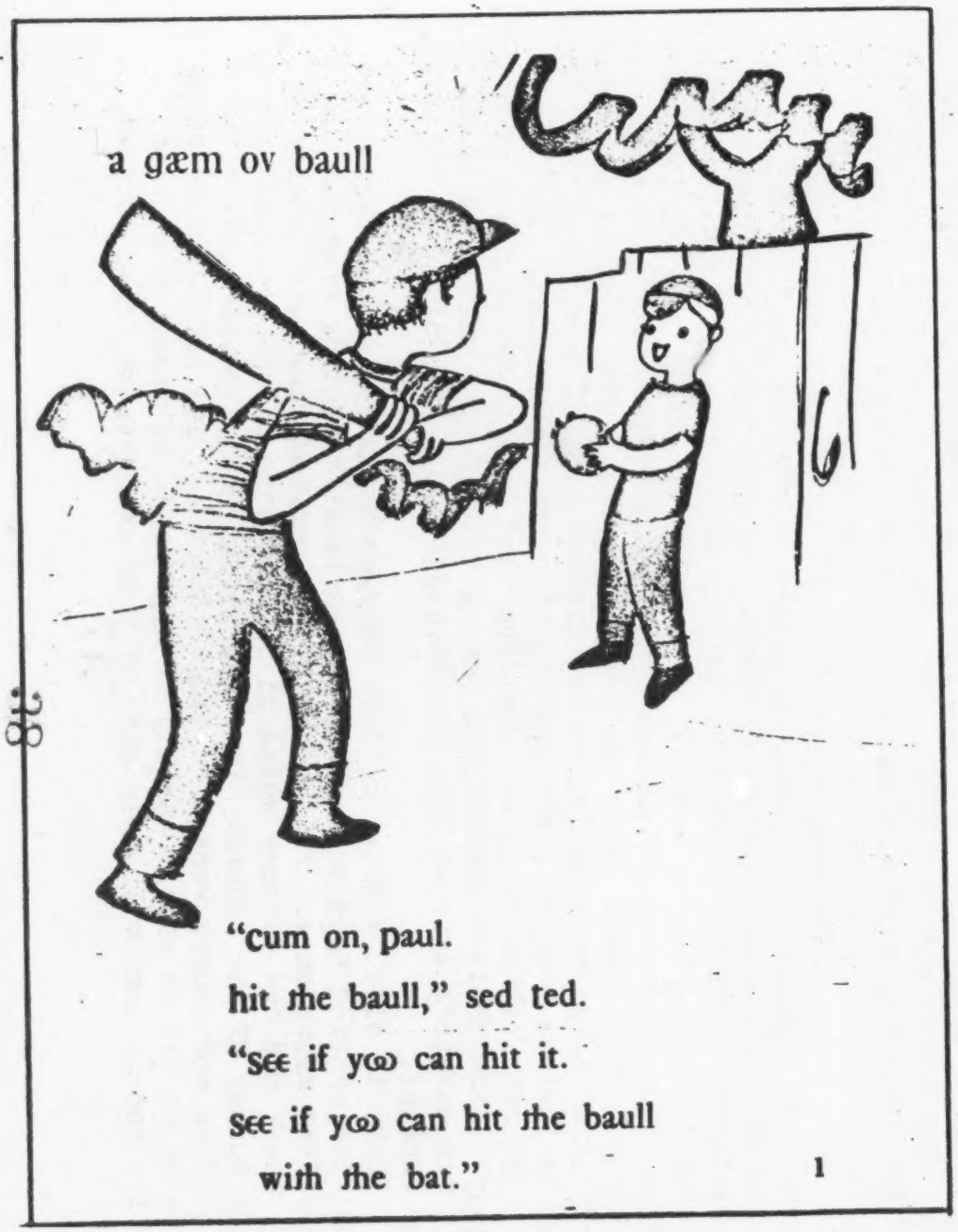
Lesson 37, page 45 from Leonard Bloomfield and Clarence L. Barnhart, Let's Read, *Part 1 (Experimental Edition), C. L. Barnhart, Inc., P.O. Box 359, Bronxville, N.Y., 1963.*

More important than that, it gives them an answer to a very important question: How does something I say look in print?" In this plan, the child dictates his story on a tape recorder (some classrooms have little geodesic domes for a "story house" where children can go whenever they have a story to dictate). The teacher then listens to the story, types it up using primary-size type. The child illustrates his story with pictures and adds his story to his group's book. The Bank Street Readers (see your handout) claim to have gathered their stories from such books. Certainly this series is the most popular with inner-city teachers. The stories are not about Dick and Jane in suburbia or Dan and Sue on their farm but about inner-city children. The illustrations are great. The opposite page is from the San Diego LEA collection. San Diego has been the hotbed of LEA but it has spread remarkably in the past five years across the country. It's big appeal has been that it motivates children who may have been failing to give reading a second try. Drawbacks seem to be that patterns, phoneme-grapheme correspondences are not controlled and so theoretically it should be difficult to read.

SRA. Science Research Associates materials are used in almost all schools now. You're probably acquainted with the set we have for the 33 classes. The box is colored-coded for levels. The child choses a one-page story, reads it, answers questions, and gets to check his record sheet as he completes stories, takes the comprehension and speed test for the next color level. Children work individually and seem to be motivated either by this or the recognition of being at a high color level, or because he likes the stories. In the beginning levels, there is some picture cuing: The dog  saw ▬▬ the cat  but this is rapidly phased out. Many children like this kind of thing. Do you remember the section of Jack and Jill that had stories that were part picture and part print (The sat on the and looked out the  ....)? Fun, wasn't it? SRA is, I believe, one of the companies guaranteeing success in beginning reading programs. Nobody is guaranteeing success with junior high students.

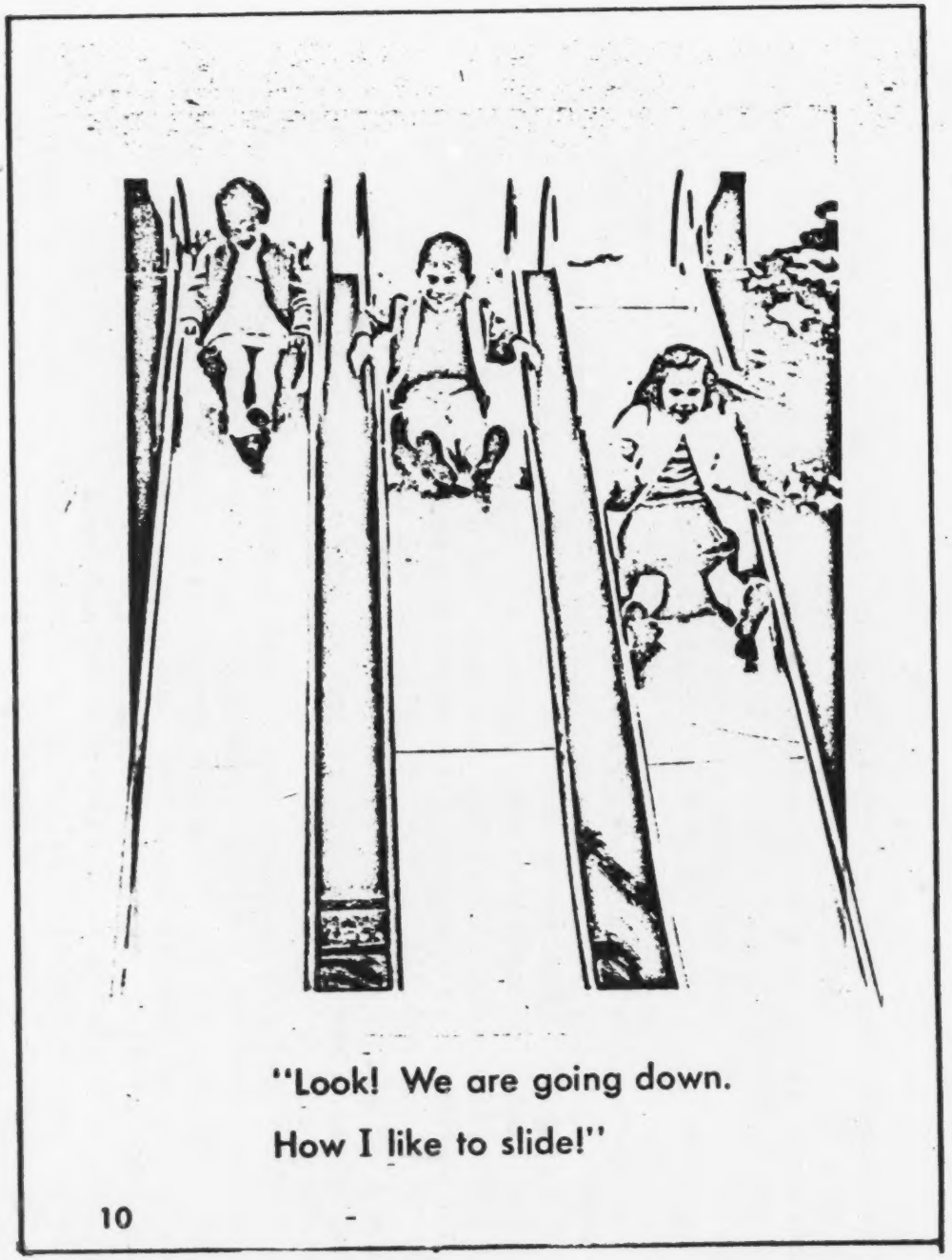
ita. Initial Teaching Alphabet books aren't used widely here. They have been very popular in England and places in the eastern United States. They work on a one-symbol-one-sound basis. Children are taught the sounds of the letters. Children learn very quickly under this system. The problem comes when the child has to transfer to regular spelling. During the transfer stage, the gains this method has over the other programs is lost so you might as well have started with the regular system. This doesn't sound too different than transfer from 1st to 2nd dialect materials and you could argue that it is just as well to start reading with the new dialect. But in the case of dialect readers it is not spelling that is changed to agree with the phonology of the child's dialect but the syntax. A copy of two versions of one of Joan Baratz's stories from the Washington program (1970) is included in your handout.

There is also OK Moore's--Omar Khayyam Moore's--talking typewriter program, the Writing Road to Reading, Phonovisual and other programs but these are the major ones. Evaluation of the programs has been intense to say the least and the outcome seems to be that none of the programs is superior to any of the others. In other words, some programs work with some children and others work with other children. The safest thing to do seems to be to use as wide a variety of approaches as possible so that, hopefully, one of them will help each of your students to learn to read.



Page 1 from Albert J. Mazurkiewicz and Harold J. Tanyzer, Early-to-Read i/t/a Program, *Revised Book 2, i/t/a Publications, Inc., New York, 1966.*

Some color wash in the child's edition.



Page 10 from Lawrence W. Carillo, ed., Slides, *the second of the six paperback readers in the* Chandler Language-Experience Readers, *Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1965.*

JENNIFER THE CHEAT

Ollie have another sister name
Jennifer.
She five year old.

Jennifer don't go
to no real school.
She go to kindergarten.

She don't know how to read or
either write, but she love to
play cards.

Jennifer like to win.
She like to win so much she cheat.
She a real cheat.
She pick out all the best cards
and she keeps them.

When her friend ask her do she
have a card Jennifer say, "No,"
even when she have it.

One time Leroy found out Jennifer
been cheating.
Leroy make fun of her. He say,
"You think you sweet
but I know you cheat."

Everybody laugh cept Jennifer.
She start crying and she say
she don't want to play no more.

Jennifer the Cheat

Ollie has another sister
named Jennifer.
She is five years old.

Jennifer doesn't go
to a real school.
She goes to kindergarten.

She doesn't know how to read
or write yet.
But she loves to play cards.

Jennifer likes to win.
She likes to win so much she cheats.
She's a real cheat.
She picks out all the best cards
and keeps them.

When her friends ask her if she
has a certain card she says, "No,"
even when she does have it.

One time Leroy found out that
Jennifer had been cheating.
Leroy made fun of her. He said,
"You think you're sweet
but I know that you cheat."

Everybody laughed except Jennifer.
She started to cry and said that
she didn't want to play anymore.

Of course, no elementary schools teacher works on reading with the class as a total group. She divides the classroom into centers and the child is either allowed to work at whatever center he choses or he is assigned to a group, depending on the teacher. In a typical classroom, you might see some children working in one area with SRA's, another table may have a junior scrabble board, another group may be playing "fish" seeing how many of the fish they can take from the fishbowl and read accurately. Another center may be working on "blending" sounds in a phonics lesson, another may be working on an LEA book for their "family group." The teacher and her aides move from group to group assisting children, working with individuals, and keeping close track of what each child has been able to accomplish.

A variety of "show me" cards, flash cards, sentence strip games, alphabet bingo, word checkers, lotto, spin-a-sound games, story cards, baseball (a phonics blend game), "circle the post" (initial, medial, and final consonant games) are found in most rooms.

I hope this gives you some idea of what strategies the regular classroom teacher is using to "teach" reading. Now let's look at the strategies children seem to use in learning to read. The best article to read on this is K. Goodman's "Reading...A Psycholinguistic Guessing Game" (1967).

Strategies Children Use in Learning to Read

Many people have kept track of "errors" children make in reading aloud, classifying them according to the number of nouns, verbs, adjectives missed or whether the errors were at the beginning, middle, or end of a sentence. Others have looked at visual similarity of words substituted in reading. Goodman and Goodman have been much more interested in what errors seem to say about what the child is doing when he reads. Look at the two passages on the handout. Obviously the second is much more difficult than the first. Yet, the young girl reading the first passage made many errors--ride/run, come/here. But moments later in the difficult passage she was able to read exactly the same words. Come and here are no problem when they occur in a meaningful sequence in "Stop and Go," but are totally confused in "Ride In." She has no trouble with can and and in the second story but confused them in the first. She omitted stop completely in the first but has no trouble with it in the second. As she reads along in "Stop and Go" Sue becomes Suzie. I guess they're friends by now. Having called train a toy, she calls toy a too, consistently. The experimenter finally asked the child what a little red too was. Pointing at the picture, she confidently answered that it was an airplane, as indeed it was.

Goodman's research (which includes older readers as well) is supported by Marie Clay's work (1966) and by the research that Brad Arthur is doing. All of these show that the child uses his semantic and syntactic knowledge as a very vital part of the reading process. When his "guess" doesn't make semantic or syntactic sense in the passage, he corrects himself. When the guess makes semantic and syntactic sense to him, he doesn't. The girl reading the first passage seemed to be playing a "call the word" game; she was not reading the "sense" of the story. Given a more difficult story, she could make sense of the information she was getting and was much more successful in reading. Remember then, too, that children have frequently been stopped by simple tasks when they are capable of succeeding at much more difficult ones. It doesn't always make sense to keep a child at the simplest task until he has "mastered" it.

RIDE IN

Run
~~Ride~~ in, Sue.

Run
~~Ride~~ in here.

Come here
~~Here~~ I ~~come~~, Jimmy.

Can come
And here I st~~o~~p.

STOP AND GO

Jimmy said, "Come here, Sue,

too
Look at my ~~toy~~ tr~~a~~in.

See it go.

toy
Look at my litt~~l~~e ~~train~~ go."

Sue said, "Stop the ~~train.~~
toy

come
Stop it ~~here~~, Jimmy."

Jimmy said, "I can stop the ~~train~~.
toy

toy
See the ~~train~~ stop."

Sue said, "Look at my ~~toy~~.
too

toy
It is in the ~~train~~.

too
See my little red ~~toy~~, Jimmy.

toy
It can ride in the ~~train~~."

Jimmy said, "See the ~~train~~ go.
toy

Look at it go."

Susie
~~Sue~~ said, "Look at my little red ~~toy~~.
too

toy
See it go for a ~~train~~ ride."

Susie
~~Sue~~ said, "My little red ~~toy~~!
too

said
Jimmy, my ~~toy~~ is not here.
too

toy
It is not in the ~~train~~.

toy
Stop the ~~train~~, Jimmy.

too
Stop it and look for my ~~toy~~."

"If it bothers you to think of it as baby sitting," my father said, "then don't think of it as baby sitting. Think of it as homework. Part of your education. You just happen to do your studying in the room where your baby brother is sleeping, that's all." He helped my mother with her coat, and then they were gone.

So education it was! I opened the dictionary and picked out a word that sounded good. "Philosophical!" yelled. Might as well study word meanings first. "Philosophical: showing calmness and courage in the face of ill fortune." I mean I really yelled it. I guess a fellow has to work off steam once in a while.

From the many observations of children's reading miscues, Goodman (1967, p. 133) draws a rough model of what the child does in reading. The steps are not necessarily sequential nor are they all employed at the same time.

1. The reader scans along a line of print from left to right and down the page, line by line.
2. He fixes at a point to permit eye focus. Some print will be central and in focus, some will be peripheral; perhaps his perceptual field is a flattened circle.
3. Now begins the selection process. He picks up graphic cues, guided by constraints set up through prior choices, his language knowledge, his cognitive styles, and strategies he has learned.
4. He forms a perceptual image using these cues and his anticipated ones. This image, then, is partly what he sees and partly what he expects to see.
5. Now he searches his memory for related syntactic, semantic, and phonological cues. This may lead to selection of more graphic cues and to reforming the perceptual image.
6. At this point, he makes a guess consistent with graphic cues. Semantic analysis leads to partial decoding as far as possible. This meaning is stored in short-term memory as he proceeds.
7. If no guess is possible, he checks the recalled perceptual input and tries again. If a guess is still not possible, he takes another look at the text to gather more graphic cues.
8. If he can make a decodable choice, he tests it for semantic and grammatical acceptability in the context developed by prior choices and decoding.
9. If the tentative choice is not acceptable semantically or syntactically, then he regresses, scanning from right to left along the line and up the page to locate a point of semantic or syntactic inconsistency. If no inconsistency can be identified, he reads on seeking some cue which will make it possible to reconcile the anomalous situation.
10. If the choice is acceptable, decoding is extended, meaning is assimilated with prior meaning, and prior meaning is accommodated, if necessary. Expectations are formed about input and meaning that lies ahead.
11. Then the cycle continues.

As you can see, the model does not reflect the kind of teaching that we do.

Jane Torrey is among the many people who have looked at the strategies used by very young children who learn to read almost as soon as they learn to talk. These case histories are interesting because the child is <u>not</u> usually taught to read but rather learns by himself. Most parents report shock when these youngsters suddenly begin reading off the cereal box one morning. Torrey (1968) gives an account of one child who seems typical of this group. "John" is a black child from an "economically and educationally deprived" home. His speech, Black English dialect, would easily have qualified him in Bereiter & Engelmann's terms, as "verbally deprived." He began reading at about age three. His mother felt he had received the gift directly from God. The only earthly source of instruction seemed to be TV commercials. These he knew and recited by heart. A check of the programs he watched showed that approximately 40 words per hour are simultaneously shown and said. These were mostly words on cans and bottles (ban, sominex, etc.). It was impossible

to distract him when TV commercials were on. This seemes to be a shared characteristic of the 49 young readers studied in Durkins survey (1966). John had an older brother and sister but they could not read and, in fact, brought books home for him to read to them. John did play bingo and concentration with some teen-age relatives and it is possible that they told him words and corrected his errors. TV, however, seems to have been the primary source. Commercials are repeated over and over. It is possible that he acquired a basic vocabulary from this, made inferences about phonics, used the redundancy of the language in the simple books his siblings brought home, and asked occasional questions and was corrected by adults.

His reading was fast and confident but his articulation was often difficult to decipher. He would spell the word when he was not understood. (For example: "Buying toys for Christmas for the ch....s For the what? Ch....s. Oh, churches. Uh,uh, ch...s Turkeys? No (louder and carefully articulated) Chrns. Can you spell it. CHILDREN.") His spelling was extremely accurate. The fact that the text was not consistent with his pronunciation did not bother John. He frequently translated the syntax of the text into his own dialect when he read aloud.

Torrey's conclusions are that reading is learned, not taught. The teacher can give exposure, some guidance, and answer questions. And equally important, high verbal ability and high cultural privilege are important in stimulating reading but they are not necessary prerequisites. John had no more than average verbal ability (104 full scale IQ, 96 verbal IQ, 111 performance IQ) and less than average cultural stimulation in the direction of reading. Hopefully, he did not have trouble with readiness activities when he got to school.

Torrey, Goodman and others then are in the small but growing group that believe that given exposure to printed material, the child will learn to read if--and it's a big if--we, his peers and his parents do not interfere with his learning process.

What we do to hinder the learning process.

How do parents, peers and teachers interfere? A good question. Teachers and parents put pressure on the child to read. Peers frequently put pressure on the child not to read (see Labov, 1967) or, at least, not to read well, especially if he is a boy. The case of children who refuse to read aloud claiming not to feel well or just sullenly sitting when called on, or who stumble and stammer when reading in front of a group is not unusual. The same children frequently will read everything in sight if asked to read individually. This may be the child's way of not outshining his peers and thereby invoking their disapproval, it may be a cultural value not to exceed one's peers, or it may, indeed, be shyness and fear of failure in front of the group.

In the past few years, we have become more and more interested in observational studies of what goes on in the classroom. The best report is Rist's (1970). I feel it's the best because it explains exactly what the school does to reinforce the class structure of society. The observational study follows a group of children from kindergarten to second grade. After the first week of school, the kindergarten teacher grouped the class into "fast learner" and "slow learner" groups. This was not done on the basis of testing but on intuitive guesses of the teacher as to which children would probably do well that year and which would need special attention in order to succeed. The basis for the guesses about the children's academic potential could only have been other-teacher information about the students'

brothers and sisters, an information sheet which gave social information about the family (number of parents at home, education level of the parents, whether or not there was a telephone in the home, the number of brothers and sisters, etc.), and on the appearance of the children (cleanliness, clothing, hair style, etc.). A check of the records showed that the teacher's guesses reflected exactly the SES level of the child. Children in group one were from middle class homes. The children were neat, well dressed, clean, and spoke standard English. Group two were less favored economically, less neat and well dressed. Children in group three were dirty, frequently smelled of urine, were inadequately clothed, and spoke nonstandard English to a greater degree than did groups one and two.

Having been grouped, the students were then treated quite differently by the teacher. Group 1 children led the Pledge of Allegiance, read the weather calendar, took messages to the office, passed out materials, etc. They were instructed directly by the teacher, had strong verbal interaction patterns with her, and were always physically close to her. Students in groups 2 and 3 "really didn't know what was going on in the classroom" according to the teacher. She did not instruct them directly as she did Group 1. They developed an interaction pattern within their groups to discuss what the teacher taught Table 1. Children at Table 1 quickly realized that they were the "smart" group and began directing disparaging remarks at students at Tables 2 and 3 ("He don't know." "It's 16, stupid." "I smarter than you.") without rebuke from the teacher. As physical distance from the teacher was increased, Table 1 children began to reinforce the social pattern she had set up. Children at tables 2 and 3 as a response to the ridicule of their peers and isolation from the teacher began fighting among themselves or withdrew from the classroom activities, staring into space. In short, their actions became precisely those which the teacher's intuitive guess predicted. They became "slow learners" since they didn't accomplish as much as the children at Table 1. The kindergarten grouping followed the children into first and second grades. Table 1 children were "taught" more, helped more, praised more. They "learned" more, accomplished more on their worksheets and readiness activities, they scored higher on all tests. They were the top group. Interaction with Table 2 and 3 children became more and more a matter of control and discipline of less-bright, less-clean, and less-cooperative children.

Many teachers, perhaps most, no longer group children into the Angels, Bluebirds, Devils, and Lemons and let the self-fulfilling prophecy go to work, but most of us have our subtle or not-so-subtle ways of doing what we do not mean to do just in order to manage our classrooms. Many teachers studiously avoid reading the cum cards (cumulative records) for past reading scores, past group membership, IQ scores, etc. We try not to be overly influenced by teacher gossip about "look out for Juan...he'll spit the minute you turn your back." But as teachers we are hardly aware of the force that SES has on us.

This overwhelming effect of SES on teacher expectation and on the child's reading scores has appeared in study after study (cf. Lewis, 1970). The statewide California report shows that teachers accept best students who are closest to middle class norms in behavior, appearance, and income. Since the effect is so overwhelming, why do some schools with low SES level students do better on reading tests than equivalent schools? This is an important question and the basis for Acosta's dissertation (1971). He studied two schools which participated in the Miller-Unruh Reading Program. The

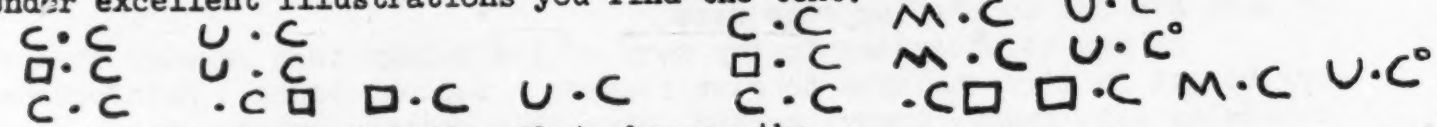
first school had the highest reading score gain for Mexican-American third grade children. The second school had the lowest gain in reading scores--student scores actually dropped from the previous year. What did the teachers do differently in the two schools? Apparently nothing. Teachers in the highly successful school seemed to use a somewhat larger variety of reading activities but the difference was not significant. In the low school, students' scores correlated with a number of home variables: family income, parent education, and parent aspiration for their children. The lower the income, education and aspiration level, the lower the child's reading scores and the smaller the improvement over the year. In the successful school these correlations were not significant. Why? Something must be different, but no explanation seemed to be forthcoming. However, in the highly successful school, every teacher had taken at least one or more special classes related to Mexican-American children. They also were participating in an in-service class conducted by the principal. All teachers were very concerned about the special strengths and problems of the children in adapting to the school situation. Only one teacher in the low school had had any special training to familiarize her with the background of her students. Acosta is careful not to claim that this is the only difference between the two schools or that the special training of the teachers in the first school really "caused" the difference in student success on the reading tests. Yet it seems to be the only promising answer.

If such training can make a difference in the teacher's attitudes and expectations and if, along with whatever methods the teacher uses or doesn't use, these attitudes and expectations give the child an atmosphere where he can learn (if not be taught) to read, then that is what we must be most sure of including in any program on how to teach reading.

So you see, you have a real advantage because you already know much about the nature of language and of dialects as equally viable forms for concept formation, communication and expression. You know something about the child's acquisition of language, about second language learning, and language interference patterns. You are not likely to put a student in the "Clowns" because he speaks a nonstandard dialect of English or says "sheep" for "ship." You are not likely to think that the child who systematically simplifies consonant clusters is cognitively underdeveloped, not "ready" to read, neurologically damaged, suffering from dyslexia, or in need of a prescription for Ritalin.

ESL Reading Techniques

But what are you likely to do? As an ESL teacher what will you do that an ordinary classroom teacher does not already do? One of the first things that many ESL experts advise is that you rewrite the textbook: "Cut and Paste." You look at the first page of the reading lesson for the day. Under excellent illustrations you find the text:



e is a silent letter that changes the medial vowel (as in S_a_m, s_a_me)

(Nan ran.
Dan ran.
Nan and Dan ran.)

(Nan can run.
Dan can run.
Nan and Dan can run.)

It's entirely unsuitable! You haven't taught irregular past tense verb forms yet. And the lesson on modal-verb doesn't come for another ten units in the oral language lesson. Still, the pictures are good. The books of course are wrong; they show the action as happening "right now" and so they ought to be in the present continuous anyway. It's no wonder the kids are confused. After hours of work on the present continuous, they go to the reading book and find mistakes on verb tense! Okay, so you cut and paste: (Nan is running. Dan is running. Nan and Dan are running.) Much better. But look what you have done to the phoneme-grapheme correspondences. Look how you've complicated the visual patterns. That's what the reading books have been so carefully sequenced for, and you've ruined that sequence by imposing a different one.

C·C I·M U·C9C
□·C I·M U·C°IC
C·C ·C□ □·C & UA U·C°IC

So what do you do? Decide that look-say is the method for you so that all the new correspondences are not that important. Do you decide that you will have to give the new phonics rules? You tell the children that I. equals /Iæ/ and that "when two vowels go walking, the first one does the talking." You tell the children that sometimes C is /k/ and sometimes /s/ (like celery and cake).

Suddenly, the idea of teaching the child to read in his first language first becomes very appealing. So perhaps you spend your summer in Mexico looking for reading books to teach the children to read in Spanish first.

Perhaps you decide that LEA is the best way. If motivation is high and the child sees how what he says looks in print, he may figure out how the system works all by himself. And you can "edit" his words (in typing) for spelling regularity and for structure appropriateness. Of course, it won't be exactly his story then.

Will you, in the end, do anything different? Certainly with your ESL training you can find or write remedial exercises that have a better chance of helping the child learn than those that are on the market today. You will understand why he makes certain errors and not others in his attempts to figure out the system. You may be more skillful in motivating him to give reading a second try if he has given up after a series of failures. You have a better chance on the so-what question that is to follow diagnostic tests. You will understand what the items on a diagnostic test say about the child's reading abilities, and you will be able to recognize good learning activities and to write your own. Most teachers look at a diagnostic test and have no idea what it means when "short vowels" are misread by the student. She can't answer "so what does the teacher do now?" You can. She can't tell whether the worksheets which have students underline the subject of the sentence are likely to help the student, waste his time, or turn him off to reading even more.

It may be necessary to try many of the things that regular teachers try to get failing children to give reading a second chance. Reinforcement schedules like candy, money, script, blue-chip stamps, badges, etc., may not be your idea of what school is all about but what kind of intrinsic motivation can you use to overcome past school history if the school is like that described by Rist, talked about by teachers in Teachers Talk or discussed in Realities of the Urban Classroom? A look at the film "The Way It Is" can give you some useful ideas (or depress you so much you won't ever try). I've included one page of sources on remedial reading but I'm not optimistic

(a poor teacher attitude on my part) except that I know you can do better because of your training and commitment.

I don't want to end so downbeat. Read Postman's article on why teach reading. That's enough to get anyone's adrenalin flowing again. Reading is an important skill. Any ESL teacher who wants to work in this country is obligated to find out everything he can about the nature of the reading process. He is obligated to provide the best possible environment for the child (or adult) so that the student can learn, teach himself, or learn from the teacher, aide, friend or foe. The ESL teacher who plans to go abroad has the same responsibility. He may be teaching English as a foreign language at a university but it is not unlikely that he will be asked to look at the literacy program for that country. It's not unlikely that he will be asked to look at materials for grade schools and high schools which involve literacy training in the first language as well as in English. Maybe a little knowledge is dangerous. In that case, you have little knowledge. You are, I think, obligated to find out more.

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COMPOSITION < CONTROL / COMMUNICATION

Evelyn Hatch

"Manipulation to Communication" has become as much a by-word in teaching composition as in other parts of the ESL curriculum. With "carefully sequenced" exercises we lead the student "step by step" through sentence structure, paragraph organization and essay writing. The controlled steps assure high motivation, we say, since the student has success at each step. He won't give up on seeing pages covered with red-pencil corrections because, if the steps are small enough, mistakes won't occur. And in the end, after we have gradually released controls, we believe the student will communicate in writing. This belief does not seem to be supported by fact.

Let's look first at the steps that we hope lead to communication and then try to figure out why they don't seem to work for most students.

We assume the first and easiest step is to copy. Some programs, however, don't believe even that and begin, as in the SWRL controlled composition program (1970) with the student circling correct word choices or filling in blanks with words copied from the bottom or the side of the page. The steps in this program are: sentence completion with words given on page, sentence completion with words not given, question answering (moving into longer story forms) and finally to story writing cued only by pictures and questions like "what is happening, what happens next, tell what happens in the end." While this program is used by Spanish-speaking children in the Los Angeles area, it is not specifically for ESL students and therefore is not structure oriented.

Other programs begin writing practice with students copying the dialogue, writing out substitution drills, or answering questions which will yield again the sentences from the oral part of the lesson. The questions usually begin with easy yes/no questions, then or questions, and finally WH- questions in order to sequence for difficulty. Most teachers consider these reinforcement exercises for the oral program.

Following copying exercises, many teachers give dictation as writing practice. Some prefer dicto-comps where the teacher reads a short selection, asks intensive questions on the selection, rereads the selection, puts key words on the board and then asks the student to write as much as he can remember of the selection.

The Ananse Tales (1968) program has the student work through 58 steps as he moves gradually toward free composition. In the first step, the student copies a series of short paragraphs about Ananse. Ananse is a spider, a folk hero in West African literature. He is extremely clever and sly, outwitting everyone else. The stories are

the motivational device and the student, depending on which step of the program he is on, changes the story about Ananse by changing pronouns or tense or perhaps adding modifiers or clauses. The teacher looks at the student's paper, reading only to the first error. If there is an error, the student repeats that same step on another story from the book. If he makes no mistakes, he goes on to the next step. Hopefully, no student gets stuck on step one for the whole semester. The Ananse Tales Workbook prepares the student with exercises for each step. He reads examples for the step, writes some samples of his own, checks these against further examples in the book, writes more of his own, and then goes on to complete that step in the folk-tale book.

Some of the best suggestions for controlled composition appear in Book 5 of English for Today (1966). Following a reading selection with oral and written practice on the sentence structure being taught, the student has a chance to discuss the ideas in the reading and develop oral compositions on related topics. Formal composition skills are then taught by asking the student to find the central thought of the reading and to summarize each paragraph in a sentence. Students are also asked to change yes/no questions into statements and then combine their answers to the questions in a variety of ways to obtain a short essay. They also give students practice in re-ordering mixed-up sentences to form a logical paragraph. Finally, students are asked to reread selected paragraphs in the reading several times, close the book and, with the topic sentence well in mind, write a similar essay.

Another device for writing practice with lessening controls are the frames made popular by Moody in his English Language Teaching (1965) articles and adapted by Dykstra, Arapoff and others. First the student studies a short story. In stage 1 of the writing practice, he is given the same story with a number of alternative choices for stories organized on the same model. He chooses one of the stories and copies his choices from the boxes or frames. In stage 2 there are fewer cues in each box. In stage 3, many of the lexical items are replaced by the grammatical function that fits in the frame; the student must supply the words for the frame. In stage 4, the student fills in blanks with only connecting words, prepositions, etc. being given in the frame. Finally, in stage 5, the student writes the story without the frame.

A wide variety of materials are available for teaching paragraph form and organization--comparison and contrast, description, narration, temporal organization, supporting arguments, etc. Some books require that the student study the model paragraph and then write his own, following the model as closely as possible. Others give topic sentence, concluding sentence and a list of questions to be answered in the body of the paragraph, then just topic sentence, and finally only a topic. These are usually followed by a unit on outlining as the basis for essay writing and examples of term paper organization, footnote and bibliography forms.

Nancy Arapoff's book Writing Through Understanding (1970) is carefully planned to give students practice with the three types of writing the advanced student needs in school: prose that reports, explains, and evaluates. Before he can do this, the student has to be taught to recognize the difference in language forms and practice producing these differences. The student, for example, is taught the difference between oral dialogue, direct address, narration, paraphrase, summary, factual analysis, assertion, essay, analysis of arguments, evaluation of arguments, critical review and the term paper. Each of these is practiced many times. For example, converting a dialogue into direct address involves learning about punctuation, speaker identification, and stylistic variety. Changing to narration involves learning to change verbs to other tenses, changing first and second-person pronouns to third person and time/place words like here and now to then and there. Each of these differences is practiced in a separate lesson within that stage of the writing process.

Most ESL teachers have tried a variety of other techniques to gradually release control on student writing. Some work and some work better than others but, after reading through hundreds of composition papers in our own foreign student classes at the university, I can't say that any of them really lead to communication. The forms are there, the sentences may even be grammatically correct. Compositions are full of "it is interesting to note," "authorities in the field agree," "the causes commonly cited are" but what follows is neither interesting to read, anything any authority would care to claim, or the cause of anything but despair on the part of the teacher. Hence, therefore, nevertheless, first and finally are sprinkled liberally across the pages but it's impossible to tell what the student wanted to communicate (if anything) and all the compositions sound exactly the same. If ever the charge of "producing parrots" were true, it must have been made after reading a stack of compositions.

How does this happen? We have guided the student with meaningless material and shown him how to write it in the best way. We have told him what to say and how to say it. In our eagerness to give him something to write about (so he won't spend 55 minutes staring at the blackboard and 5 minutes writing furiously) and show him how to write it, we have forgotten that our goal is communication. Somehow, somewhere our goal got changed to "will be able to write a term paper of not less than 1000 words, with five footnote entries and a bibliography." And we fail even there.

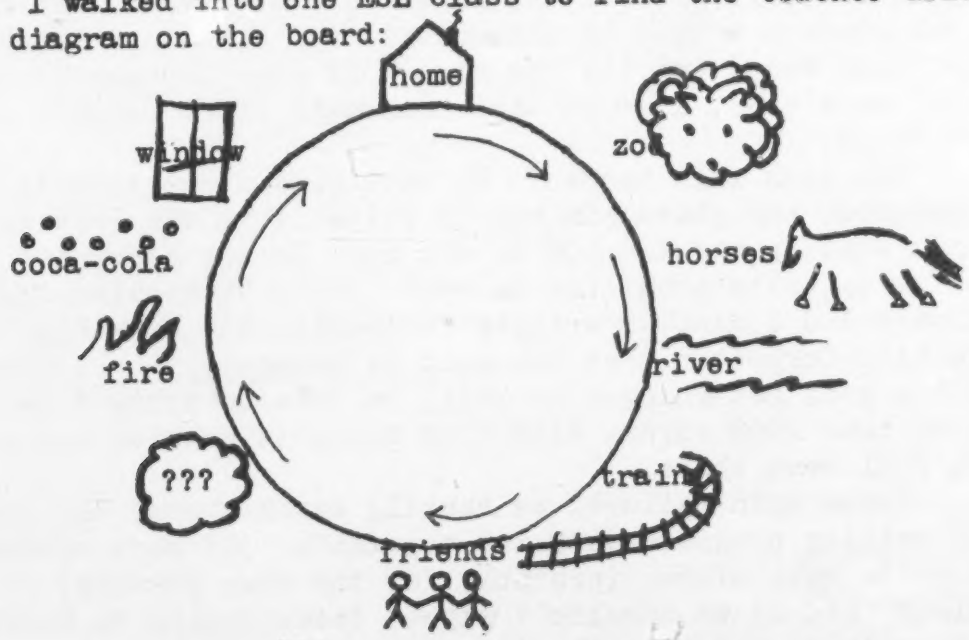
Faced with failure, we hastily explain away the poor results of our writing programs with two arguments: 1) most native speakers don't write well either (probably for the same reasons) so it must be a "talent" and 2) we shouldn't expect these skills to develop quickly, more time is needed at each step, and better composition will follow mastery of the oral language (which may be never).

As teachers, we also feel confident about our methods despite our failure because the student succeeds at each step. Almost all of our steps in controlled composition can be clearly stated and measured. We know when the student has successfully copied an Ananse Tale changing

every he to she without error. So we become very concerned about that easily-measured step and we forget that learning activities (like copying) have multiple outcomes, some of which are neither expected or desirable. We measure only the desired outcome when we give the paper an "A" and tell the student to go on to the next step. We don't measure what we have done to narrow his interest in communicating. In fact, our whole writing program ignores the development of creativity, initiative, critical thinking, self concept, attitudes and plain ordinary interest. Perhaps this is because these aren't so easily measured in behaviorist terms or because we aren't really sure how to help the student to communicate.

Moffett (1968) summarizes the arguments against controlled composition exercises with four points: 1) Decomposition exercises are not "building blocks." 2) A student can do the exercises and still not be able to write well because he's used to having problems presented to him on a platter. He hasn't developed his own awareness and judgment about his writing. 3) The exercises teach students that it is good to write even when you have nothing to say and no one to say it to. Students write stupid and boring things to beat the exercise game. 4) The student gets the message that we aren't interested in what he has to say, just that he say it in a certain form. He reacts with a "you bore me and I'll bore you" exercise.

New materials in composition for first language learners are being snatched up by most ESL teachers in the public schools--if not at the university--because they feel the distortion of goals in composition teaching most strongly. Some of these materials are manipulative too, but they seem to lead to much more communication in the classroom. I walked into one ESL class to find the teacher drawing a circular diagram on the board:



Before she had finished, the kids had realized that "home" was like the "home" or goal of children's games. One rule was put on the board: "Get something at every stop." In a minute the class was eagerly making up their stories. How close is this to our manipulative assignment: "Read

about what John did yesterday and then write a paragraph telling what you did yesterday. Use at least one irregular verb." Another class was acting out its group story "The Daily Adventures of Shirley Marina." Another class displayed its bestiary all over the walls. How close is writing about the Allorse (a horse made of the alphabet that walks very stiffly) to our assignments to "describe a friend; use the present tense." According to one student's paper, "the allorse is from Allor, a place 2550 miles in the center of the earth. They come up a long tube into a house in Oklahoma. The house, in fact, is at 420 Chautauqua St. in Norman, Oklahoma. The Allorse collects humans, usually girls. When it gets hungry, it eats iron so they don't have iron poor blood..." Another class was writing a revolting menu of gory inedibles, a far cry from the mass/count noun lesson in another ESL class which practiced only ice cream, cookies, and cake.

The Teacher and Writers Collaborative Newsletter is full of such ideas used with Puerto Rican and other ESL and ESD students in New York. From class plays with Nixon, Castro, Marilyn Monroe and others caught in an elevator to letters to Consolidated Edison re pollution, the examples of student writing are highly communicative.

Moffett's books on the language arts curriculum have excellent ideas for the ESL composition teacher and a strong rationale for understanding and communication in all phases of the language arts program. Another good starting place for rationale are the English-teaching sections of Postman and Weingartners Teaching as a Subversive Activity (1970). CATE meetings are loaded with every teacher's ideas for teaching color vocabulary in writing, what to do with what the students write, and so forth. It must be the same at meetings of groups in other states as well. Synectics Inc. writing materials encourage students to express touch, smells, sounds, feelings, memories with a variety of innovative assignments.

In all these programs students still expand kernel sentences (by writing telegrams, expanding baby talk, playing sentence-building games with word slips) and rewrite their own sentences and those of classmates. They subordinate clauses, reword phrases, and explore a variety of language alternatives. But this is not justified as teaching composition to reinforce language structures taught in the oral part of the curriculum. It is part of improving communication and expression.

It is in this direction that ESL composition courses ought to move if we are to convince students that writing is more than writing a theme. It is in this direction that we must look to expand our ability to communicate our thoughts and feelings. This use of written language is for everyone - yes, even second language learners. If you don't believe it's possible, look at what has been done in the creative magazine from the Intermountain school by American Indian children. Look at the material being produced by the students in the schools serviced by the Teacher and Writers Collaborative Newsletter. It is possible.

One question, of course, is what to do about correction. Many of the students turn in papers full of what we would call "shocking errors" to these publications. The papers of native speakers of English

are as "bad" as those of the ESL students. If we can only keep in mind that our goal is communication, then perhaps we can relax. You don't correct feelings communicated. As Vanessa Howard says, "If I feel in Bad English, I write in Bad English." (1970) The rationale is that English errors do correct themselves if students write enough. And students will write enough only if they want to communicate in writing because it's fun and the writing is valued both by the reader and the writer. It's hard to value a composition--either as a reader or a writer--that results from "Write an expository paragraph on some aspects of your social life. Use three clarifying sentences. Be sure to summarize in your concluding sentence."

If Brière's study (1966) is replicable, then we can also remind ourselves that massive practice, even with errors uncorrected, produces more fluent and accurate English writing than a regularly sequenced program. Perhaps then we can also relax enough to admit to ourselves that a controlled sequence of exercises to move from manipulation to communication is useful in that it calls the student's attention to structure and organization. But at the same time, we must find more ways to encourage the student to communicate in writing, communicate feelings and ideas and at the same time expand his creativity in all aspects of language. The multiple outcomes of this approach may well be highly motivated students, ideas communicated in writing, and accurate English.

If you are interested in trying some of the ideas in the humanistic language arts curriculum, the following references could be the starting point.

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APPLICATION OF QUESTION AND ANSWER DRILLS TO GROUP WORK

Jiro Igarashi

1. Type of Question and Answer Drills

P. Gurrey in each chapter of his Teaching English as a Foreign Language emphasizes the necessity of question and answer drills. He advocates three types of questioning and applies them to the teaching and learning of four basic skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

The three types of questioning are divided into stages. The first stage is used during the introduction of materials in teaching reading. The textbook plays a central role as its contents provide the topics for questioning. Gurrey states:

> . . . when reading has begun, good language practice can be obtained by questioning on the text. The text then will control vocabulary, structures, grammar, and idea. Provided the passages through the Reader are carefully graded, with a very slow increase of difficulty, a teacher need only select his question forms carefully, and sufficient control over the language will be exerted by the text. He must be careful, however, to see that his questions ask only for details that are expressed in the text.[1]

The student must recall the contents of the lesson and answer the question using the same vocabulary and sentence structures as are used in the textbook.

The aim of Stage One Questions is not to require the student to concentrate primarily on the content of the question but to have him read the textbook with the greatest possible care. Thus he masters the vocabulary and the sentence structures through intensive training, uses them correctly, establishes his language habits, and learns to acquire precise information from a wide range of books and magazines. The teacher reinforces this training by always allowing the student to keep his textbook open while doing this first stage question-answer drill. If the questions are asked in the order of the contents of the textbook, the student can see both the vocabulary and the sentence structure of his textbook and can answer the questions without too much difficulty. If Stage One Questioning is done properly and thoroughly, the student should acquire the skill necessary to answer simple questions which require a minimum of creativity. Gurrey says (p. 101), ". . . to prevent reading from becoming purely automatic and to ensure that reading promotes intellectual growth, and therefore has some educative value, a second type of questioning, 'Stage Two Questioning,' should begin."

Stage Two Questions, avoiding pure repetition, ensure the educational value which accumulates through intellectual progress based on reading for a deeper level of meaning. Stage Two Questions promote clear thinking by getting the student to take note of facts and their relationships. Though Stage Two Questions are based on the textbook (just as Stage One Questions are), the extent to which they require the student to think is greater. The teacher asks questions requiring anticipation of the contents of the textbook as well as the more repetitive questions. He asks, for example, (1) what the people and things and places mentioned in the textbook are like, (2) why this or that action was done, (3) what the cause of this event was and what the result of that one was, and (4) how this or that happened. Stage Two Questions ask for answers that require reasoning, deduction, and imagination, not just plain recall of facts.

The student learns to examine causes and effects and to scrutinize motives and reasons more carefully through the training of Stage Two Questioning. Little by little, he learns to make sound deductions and draw sound conclusions from what he has heard and read. Stage Two Questions require the student to think out the answer while he concentrates on the items in the textbook which is opened before him and to which he may refer in formulating his answers, just as at Stage One Questioning.

Stage Three Questions provide an effective beginning step in teaching composition. As we have already noted, Stage One Questions take into account only the exact contents of the textbook. Stage Two Questions concern deeper level implications of the immediate problems described in the textbook. Stage Three Questions, on the other hand, require information not found in the textbook. In other words, questions only indirectly related to passages and chapters in the textbook are asked. This encourages the student to pay careful attention to his surroundings and to relate his study to his daily life outside the English class. We could say that Stage Two Questions are "intensive," and Stage Three Questions are "extensive."

Good Stage Three Questions depend on the skill of the teacher asking questions. He must pose interesting and challenging problems for the students to answer. If the teacher asks questions, one after another, categorizing the topics from simple to complex, the student will be able to answer correctly and pay attention to the content of his and his classmates' answers.

Gurrey uses the Three Stage Questioning Method extensively in both visual and auditory skills, i.e., in reading and writing and in oral and aural practice. Furthermore, he believes that these three stages of questioning encourages logical thinking---a quality which is highly regarded by educators and psychologists alike.

In grading question-and-answer exercises, Gurrey says (p. 66) that "at first the question will contain the words and structures that are needed in the answer; next they contain the words but not the Tense; later the questions may call for almost entirely new sentences." Question patterns are generally divided into three parts:

Simple (Yes-No) Questions, Alternative Questions, and Special Questions. He includes all three question patterns in his first three stages. The following table indicates the outline of tne basic order of questioning stages advocated by Gurrey:

Stage	Type	Text	Content of the Question
I	Mixed Questions	Used	Concerns matters only in text: characters, facts, and things.
II	Mixed Questions	Used	Concerns matters implied in text: characters, facts, and things. Requires the student's thinking and imagination.
III	Mixed Questions	Used	Mainly seeks information outside text: the student's daily life through his experiences, thoughts and imagination.

TABLE I

Quite naturally Gurrey suggests this sort of practice because he aims to advance the student's efficiency and skill in reading and thinking. He believes that quick answering provides necessary practice. The writer, however, thinks that in one important aspect his statements are not fully applicable to foreign language instruction. The question is: how should we language teachers deal with the students who cannot answer immediately when asked questions in the foreign language? Is it all right simply to leave the students who cannot answer alone? Probably not. It is the writer's belief that the problem should be approached with a view to systematizing teaching techniques to the advantage of all students, the slow ones included. To achieve this, the organization of question and answer procedures in language teaching and learning is especially important. The next section will discuss this problem, focusing on a method of applying questioning techniques to oral practice for groups of students.

2. A Method of Applying Question and Answer Drills to Group Work

A. Criticism of Gurrey's Theory of Questioning

The writer has discussed the three stages of questions which Gurrey advocates in his Teaching English as a Foreign Language. At Stage One Questioning, Gurrey takes up what we here call "Mixed Type Questions," which are Yes-No Questions, Alternative Questions, and Special Questions. If students correctly answer these questions, even while looking at their textbooks, then they will need to be fairly advanced. If they don't thoroughly master the necessary techniques through structural drills as the writer has suggested, the

question periods cannot proceed smoothly. The problem is one of efficiency. The fact is that the mixed type questions must be directed to only one student at a time, and it is doubtful whether all the other students understand each question equally well and could respond to it correctly if called on. The correct answer of one student may be a response typical of other students who are raising their hands, but still it may not represent the understanding of all students in the class.

Because the questions the teacher asks must motivate learning, it is important for the teacher to follow an appropriate questioning procedure. Bumpass suggests the following procedure:

1. Direct the question to the whole class before any pupil is called on for an answer.
2. Use only the words found in the vocabulary of the pupil.
3. Be concise, clear, and definite.
4. Require all questions to be answered in complete sentences.[2]

The teacher asks the whole class the question in order to make each of the students think up an answer. Then, in case the teacher calls a particular student and gets a correct answer from him, the teacher must give immediate approval to the student. He should also get the whole class to repeat the correct answer. This is one of the important elements which we, as language teachers, must always keep in mind during the Stages of Variation or Selection. Every student must be active. The student's answer should be, of course, uttered in correct intonation (pitch, stress, and juncture).

However, even if the teacher followed this questioning procedure, a large percentage of Japanese students studying English as a foreign language could not answer correctly the indiscriminate questions suggested by Gurrey at Stage One. The writer believes that we should sequence this question and answer work as follows:

1. Yes-No questions, e.g., "Did he go to town?"
2. Alternative questions, e.g., "Did he go to town or to school?"
3. Special questions, e.g., "Where did he go?" "Who went to town?"

The mixed type questions seem to be effective in that they give flexibility to the process of language teaching. However, before using the mixed type questions, it will be much easier for the student if the teacher first asks Yes-No Questions, next Alternative Questions, and finally Special Questions. In question-and-answer drills, it is desirable to systematize the order of questions so that the students are merely asked first to affirm or negate, then to select between alternatives, and finally to give new information. This will provide the student with greater reinforcement and less emotional stress. As E. T. Cornelius observes ". . . the teacher may have the tendency to test instead of teaching during classroom recitation. For example, instead of drilling students in imitation and repetition of spoken and written forms, the teacher will begin drilling the students in question-answer form before the student has learned the answers well enough."[3] Drills are not tests; and these stages suggested here are drills.

Gurrey calls Stage Two Questions "intensive," for these drills require the student to answer questions with his textbook open about what he has read. This is a training by association, from a psychological point of view. F. Gouin emphasized that every time the teacher presents new words during the lesson, he must make the students close their eyes, recall the clear images of things and actions which words indicate, and connect them to each other.[4] Words must not be isolated from the language taught. He appeals to the imaginative power of the learners. One learner's ideas stimulate similar thinking on the part of others. The development of questioning at Stage Two Questions emphasizes thinking which requires the use of inference, deduction, and imagination. It trains the student to think precisely and constructively.

Naturally, questions at Stage Two should be mixed in type since the students will have assimilated sentence patterns necessary for use in immediate recall. If the students have not acquired these patterns, the functional operation of Stage Three Questions, according to Gurrey, will become difficult. Bumpass, referring to Simple Recall type (e.g., Who is a boy?) and Difficult Recall type (e.g., What is Pepe?) says:

> Simple Recall type does not involve the pupils' having to remember or recall the new lexical item since they will hear it in the question. Their answer: "Pepe is a boy." Difficult type requires conscious choice of the pupils in recalling the lexical item "boy" to give the response: "Pepe is a boy."[5]

Suppose the student has been told that Mr. Yukawa is the 1949 Nobel Prize winner in physics. Now, if he is asked the question "Who was the 1949 Nobel Prize winner in physics?" he may respond, "It was Mr. Yukawa." This is a simple recall question. A more difficult question is "Who is Mr. Yukawa?" Both types of questions are required at Stage Two. Of course, in order to ensure correct recall, it is necessary for the student to have already drilled on the structures. Since one student's response to the teacher's cue becomes a stimulus for other students, correct responses will help reinforce learning for all class members. If the intonation (of pitch, stress, and juncture) is not expressed correctly in this process, even the training of Stage Two Questions will lose its value. In short, complete question and answer drills will be automatically included in the process of four-phase drills: Stimulus-Response-Correct Answer-Reinforcement.

The reason that Gurrey calls Stage Three Questions "extensive" is that these questions concern everything--not only the contents of the textbook but experiences at school and at home as well. Extensive questions are, of course, also mixed type, and require a very high level of skill in questioning and answering from both the teacher and the student. For example, this question type asks "Who are you?" in addition to "Who was the 1949 Nobel Prize winner?", "Who is Mr. Yukawa?", and "What is Mr. Yukawa?" Psychologically speaking, Stage Three also requires, according to Bumpass, Personal type (e.g., "What are you?") questions. Bumpass says (p.64) that "The Personal type allows application practice by the pupils and helps them become more aware of what is being learned, since a pupil will be applying a pattern learned in his own life when he points to himself and answers: 'I'm a boy.'"

Learning should proceed from already known to unknown, or from simple to difficult in both form and meaning. Therefore the question pattern should move sequentially from Simple to Alternative to Special Questions, and the content from Simple to Difficult to Personal Recall. The questions related to the life and experience of the student must be carefully chosen because interesting personalized subjects have great motivating power to gain the student's attention and increase his learning. Besides, recalling facts and things which the student has associated, these questions will give functional value to the language materials taught. Thus content is as every bit as important as form.

The writer, having discussed Gurrey's three types of questioning and criticizing them from an educational and psychological point of view, feels that Gurrey leaves a few gaps between Stage One and Stage Two of his questioning procedure. Consider, for example, questions based on the following sentence: "He went to the park with his friends yesterday." Suppose the teacher asks questions from the beginning such as: "Where did he go yesterday?", "When did he go to the park?", and "With whom did he go to the park yesterday?" These questions, initially, will be very difficult for the student to answer. The writer has observed English classes in which only a few superior students would even make an attempt to answer questions of this type. Is it right for the teacher to ignore all those other students who did not try to answer? The writer believes that in this case the teacher should slow the pace of his teaching so that he can devote some of his time to the level of even the slowest students. He must know that there are two other question patterns which such students can answer by virtue of the fact that the question itself includes the form of answer; namely, Simple and Alternative Questions. If the teacher asks these questions, the number of students who can answer will greatly increase. Under such circumstances, if the teacher wishes to speed up the learning produced by questioning, he must recognize the necessity for sequencing the form of question types from the viewpoint of group work.

B. An application of Question-and-Answer Drills to Group Work

Group work in the process of teaching and learning aims at getting students to participate in all class activities and to elevate their own performance. Group work is also intended to encourage the general process of thinking and recognition on the part of each student in the class. In order to base classroom teaching on scientific principles and to ensure maximum efficiency in teaching large classes, such considerations are necessary.

In general we can set up three models of classroom procedure: 1) a teacher-centered approach, 2) a student-centered approach, and 3) a group-centered approach. In actual teaching, these three models of learning should not be regarded as completely separate and fixed, but as dynamically interrelated in that they mutually contribute to the effectiveness of the teaching materials and techniques.

The writer's proposal for a maximally effective order of questioning is divided into eight stages and indicated in Tables II, III, IV, and V.

Stage	Type	Text	Content of the Question	Method
I	Simple questions	Answers given in text	Concerns matters only in text: characters, facts, and things.	Teacher-centered
				Group-centered
II	Alternative questions	Answers given in text	Concerns matters only in text: characters, facts, and things.	Teacher-centered
				Group-centered
III	Special questions	Answers	Concerns matters only in text: characters, facts, and things.	Teacher-centered
				Group-centered

TABLE II

The teacher must subdivide his class into a number of groups. At Stage One, the teacher first asks questions of the individual group leaders, and then the group leaders ask the same questions of the groups and individual group members. The teacher's asking questions is a preliminary to the group-centered teaching which comes in the next step. Group work should be mainly used in the presentation of new materials. It would be best if it could be done after pattern practice of the target sentence structures and explanation of the contents of the materials studied.

Let's examine the following teaching material as a sample lesson: Basic material:

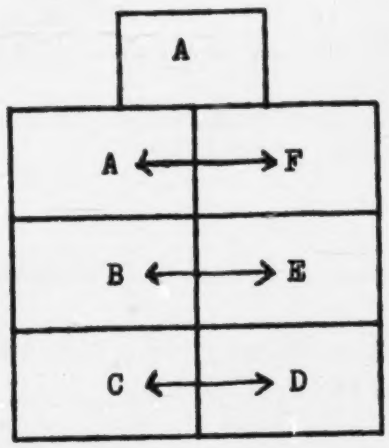
When Hans was eleven years old, his father died. Then Hans had to work for his living. His mother wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker, but Hans would not listen to her. He had to decide to go to Copenhagen and study.

Suppose that the target sentence is: <u>His mother wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker</u>.

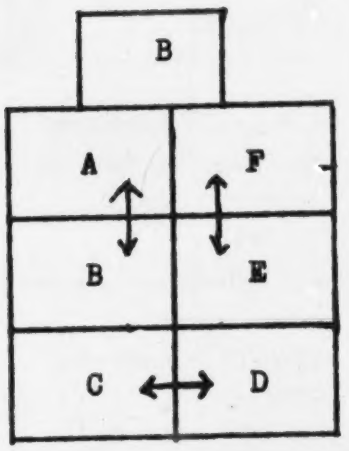
The teacher is liable to be carried away by the impulse of using special question patterns from the first. These patterns, however, should be saved for Stage Three in the Table II. In order to provide a model question for the whole class, it would be much better for the teacher to ask questions to leaders of pre-established groups, then get individual students in the groups to repeat the correct answer, and finally get the whole class to do it. This path leads the class to manipulating questions and answers in large groups.

The following is a demonstration by Group A (at Stage One), and Group B (at Stage Three). Each group must perform the same practice at the same time. This involves methods of group-centered teaching, first face to face, and second side by side.

Face to Face
(Practice in Pairs)



Side by Side
(Chain Drill)



1. Teacher-centered Approach:
Group A--By Face to Face (Practice in Pairs) at Stage One.
Teacher: Did his mother want him to be a tailor?
Leader A: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
Group S 1: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
Group S 2: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
Class: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
Teacher: Did his mother want him to be a tailor?
(The leaders and one or two students in each group (B,C,D,E, et cetera) will repeat the same sentences as Leader A in Group A does in his response to the teacher's question.)
Teacher: Now, please practice this question and answer in each group.

2. Group-centered Approach:
Group A--By Face to Face (Practice in Pairs) at Stage One.
Leader A: Did his mother want him to be a tailor? From A,B,C, to F,E,D, please.
Student A: Did his mother want him to be a tailor?
Student F: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
Student B: Did his mother want him to be a tailor?
Student E: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
Student C: Did his mother want him to be a tailor?
Student D: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
(Students F,E, and D will ask students A,B, and C the same question)

3. Teacher-centered Approach:
Group B--By Side by Side (Chain Drill) at Stage Three.
Teacher: What did his mother want him to be?
Leader B: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
Group S 1: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
Group S 2: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
Class: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
Teacher: What did his mother want him to be?
(The leaders and one or two students in each group (A,C,D,E, et cetera) will repeat the same sentences as Leader B in Group B does in his response to the teacher's question.)

Teacher: Now, please practice this question and answer in each group.

4. Group-centered Approach:
Group B--By Side by Side (Chain Drill) at Stage Three.
Leader B: What did his mother want him to be? From A to B, C to D, and E to F please.
Student A: What did his mother want him to be?
Student B: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
Student C: What did his mother want him to be?
Student D: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
Student E: What did his mother want him to be?
Student F: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.

Leader B will say to the group members, "Please change, from F to E, D to C, and B to A."

Stage	Type	Text	Content of the Question	Method
IV	Simple Questions	Answers given in text	Concerns matters only in text: characters, facts, and things.	Teacher-centered
				Group-centered
V	Alternative questions	Answers given in text	Concerns matters only in text: characters, facts, and things.	Teacher-centered
				Group-centered
VI	Special Questions	Answers given in text	Concerns matters only in text: characters, facts, and things.	Teacher-centered
				Group-centered

TABLE III

At Stage One, Two, and Three, the teacher deals only with target sentences found verbatim in the teaching materials. But at Stages Four, Five, and Six, the sequencing of questions follows the order of the material in the textbook. At Stage Four the events are recalled by Yes-No Questions, at Stage Five by Alternative Questions, etc. Questions at Stage Four, Five, and Six help the teacher check up the student's understanding of the content in the textbook. In this way, these three stages emphasize the teacher-centered approach.
1. Simple Question (Teacher-centered Approach):
Teacher: Was Hans eleven years old when his father died?
Group S 1: Yes, he was. He was eleven years old.

Group S 2: Yes, he was. He was eleven years old.
Class: Yes, he was. He was eleven years old.
Teacher: Did his mother want him to be a tailor?
Group S 1: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
Group S 2: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
Class: Yes, she did. She wanted him to be a tailor.
(The teacher will be able to ask the students questions such as: Did he have to work for his living? Wouldn't he listen to her? Did he decide to go to Copenhagen?)

2. Alternative Question (Teacher-centered Approach):
Teacher: Was Hans eleven years old or fifteen years old when his father died?
Group S 1: He was eleven years old.
Group S 2: He was eleven years old.
Class: He was eleven years old.
Teacher: Did he have to work for his living or his trip?
Group S 1: He had to work for his living.
Group S 2: He had to work for his living.
Class: He had to work for his living.
(The teacher will be able to ask the students questions such as: Did his mother want him to be a tailor or a teacher? Did he decide to go to Copenhagen or to London?)

3. Special Question (Teacher-centered Approach):
Teacher: How old was Hans when his father died?
Group S 1: He was eleven years old.
Group S 2: He was eleven years old.
Class: He was eleven years old.
Teacher: What did his mother want him to be?
Group S 1: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
Group S 2: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
Class: She wanted him to be a tailor or a shoemaker.
(The teacher will be able to ask the students questions such as: What did he have to work for? Where did he decide to go?)

Stage	Type	Text	Content of the Question	Method
VII	Mixed questions I	Answers given in text	Concerns matters only in text: characters and facts, as seen through the student's experience and imagination.	Teacher-centered
				Group-centered

TABLE IV

At Stage Seven, the teacher first asks leaders of each group mixed type questions including Simple, Alternative, and Special Questions. Then all the members of the group can see how to manipulate the mixed type questions and answers in group activity. At this stage, the teacher-centered approach comes first, then comes the group-centered approach.

1. Teacher-centered Approach:

Teacher: How old was Hans when his father died?

(One or two students in each group (A, C,D,E, et cetera) will repeat the same answer as each leader does in response to the teacher's question, and finally the whole class will also do it.)

Teacher: What did his mother want him to be?

(The same activity is done.)

Teacher: Did he decide to go to Copenhagen or to London?

(The same activity is done.)

In the first activity of this stage, we find that the teacher is exclusively on the side of questioning and the student on the side of answering. In order to prevent a completely one-sided form of questioning by the teacher, we must also use the group-centered approach here.

2. Group-centered Approach:

Group A--By Side by Side (Chain Drill) at Stage Seven.

Leader A: How old was Hans when his father died? From A to B, C to D, and E to F, please.

(Students A, C, and E will ask students B, D, and F the same questions and vice versa. Each group (B,C,D,E,F, et cetera) should do the same type of activity as Group A does at the same time.)

Stage	Type	Text	Content of the Question	Method
VIII	Mixed questions II	Not used	Concerns not only matters in text, but facts and information not found in text through the student's experience and imagination.	Teacher-centered

TABLE V

At Stage Eight the teacher can ask the student various kinds of questions, not only on matters in the textbook but also on facts of the student's daily life. The student must make use of ideas that he has acquired, facts that he has come across, and things that he has read about or has been taught. In the actual questioning work, the teacher asks the whole class first and then asks individuals. Following this procedure of questioning, he can evaluate the success of his class activity. The following are some questions which are likely to be asked by the teacher at Stage Eight. The teacher-centered approach should be used here.

A. When Hans was eleven years old, what happened to his father?
B. Why did he have to work?
C. Did his mother want him to be a tailor?
D. What do you want to be in the future?
E. Do your parents agree with you?
F. Where did Hans decide to go?
G. What did he want to do in Copenhagen?
H. Where is Copenhagen?
I. Do you want to go to Copenhagen?
J. What do you think of when you hear the word Copenhagen?

The writer believes, in the process of questioning at Stage Eight, that the teacher should function on the basis of Agape, from a pedagogical point of view. Agape means that the teacher stands on the same level with the student in classroom communication. From a psychological point of view, importance should also be attached to Feedback. Feedback is necessary to correct errors the student has made in class by giving him adequate stimuli associated with the response which causes the student to want to do something informative. For example, a special question such as "Where did Hans decide to go?" is very difficult for the student to answer. The teacher, knowing that there are some students who cannot immediately and correctly answer this question, should not move on at once to the next question. If he intends to stand on the same level with the student and maintain the spirit of Agape, he should ask the other two types of questions, both of which include the answers: "Did he decide to go to Copenhagen?" or "Did he decide to go to Copenhagen or to London?" The student will no doubt respond capably to these questions. However, the teacher must immediately remember to go back to the first situation and re-ask the special question: "Where did he decide to go?" The spirit of Agape, at this stage, will be most useful as a teaching attitude if it is accompanied by appropriate feedback.

In order to reduce the gaps at Gurrey's Three Stages of Questioning to a minimum, the teacher should devise his teaching materials and techniques with a view to systematization. This systematization of foreign-language techniques, especially on questioning and answering by the group-centered approach, will greatly help minimize much of the difficulty the student meets in an entirely teaching-centered learning situation.

The question-and-answer work of the group-centered approach has, of course, many unsolved problems, but it has many advantages also. It gets all of the students in the class to participate. The student's sense of satisfaction that he has shared his class activity with other students will produce an atmosphere in which further learning may best take place. Moreover, each student's rapidly rising level of achievement will reinforce his responses and attitudes. The formation of the student's responses and attitudes in foreign language learning will encourage him to put to more general use the sentence structures he has learned through questioning and answering techniques.

NOTES

1. P. Gurrey. Teaching English as a Foreign Language. London: Longmans, 1955. pp. 34-35.
2. F. L. Bumpass. The Teaching of English as a Foreign Language, A Manual for Teachers. Washington, D. C.: Educational Series, 1952. p. 30.
3. E. T. Cornelius. Language Teaching, A Guide for Teachers of Foreign Languages. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1953. p. 10.
4. F. Gouin. The Art of Teaching and Studying Language. London: George Philip and Son, 1892. Translated by H. Swan and V. Betis.
5. F. L. Bumpass. Teaching Young Students English as a Foreign Language. New York: American Book Company, 1963. p. 64.

TWO FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH ARTICLES

Henryk Kałuża

I. Article usage in English is and has always been one of the major stumbling blocks for foreign learners. This is especially true of the Slavic and Far Eastern students of English to whom the very concept of preceding nouns by a special kind of determinative seems strange from the viewpoint of their native articleless language.

Because of the complexity of the problem we shall confine ourselves to reviewing only two basic aspects of articles, viz. their non-generic and generic functions. We shall not go into detailed contextual differences within each of these categories, and we also exclude Proper Names as a separate subject. In other words our concern here is only the main distinction between representing entities, ideas, etc., either non-generically as concrete individual or identified notions, or generically, i.e., without identification as a general concept often referring to a whole genus or class.

The forms that make up our material for discussion are common nouns subdivided dichotomously into countables and uncountables. A formal feature of the first category is that its substantives are used both in the singular /C/ a horse and in plural /Cs/ horses whereas the other group refers to the singular only /U/ air. All these three forms may be preceded by the definite article the: the C, the Cs, the U. The indefinite article a, on the other hand, applies exclusively to the countables in the singular aC. The other existing usage of nouns is with no article or the zero article /Ø/. They may be countables in the plural ØCs and uncountables in the singular ØU. In this way we arrive at the six following combinations of articles and nominals possible in the English language: the C, the Cs, the U, aC, ØCs, ØU.

The general distinction between the non-generic and generic sense, given above, enables us to separate ØCs and ØU from the rest as being always generic (see the details below in VI) so the problem boils down to the combinations with the and a coming out in these two different uses. Let us consider the non-generic one first.

II. Non-generic the like the demonstrative "that" (from which the former has developed as a weak form), indicates a definite entity (entities) unmistakably singled out from others. In practice this identification is achieved by means of an explicit or implicit context.

Explicit circumstances are provided by the actual mentioning of the noun(s) in question, first without the definite article and then repeated with the, e.g.,

1. A man and a woman were sitting in front of me. They were arguing. The woman wanted to go but the man said...
2. Yesterday he bought some cigars. The cigars were found in the kitchen.
3. You asked me for advice and I gave you the advice.

Some writers find it briefer and, therefore, more efficient to reverse this order. They jump in medias res, as it were, by putting the at the outset and then leave it to the reader to find out in a following context which substantive was meant. For instance, Norman

Douglas begins his book entitled, "South Wind" in this way:

4. The bishop was feeling rather seas-sick,
confoundly sick in fact...

Though unaware which bishop it was, we are expected not only to accept the but also the definite temporal conditions expressed by the continuous tense. This technique is common in book titles:

5. The Thistle and the Rose
6. The Hind and the Panther

In an implicit context, it is taken for granted that both the speaker and his audience know perfectly well which particular substantive is under discussion so they refer to it by the without any previous introduction. E.g. when talking about an elephant, we may go on mentioning the trunk, the legs or the flesh. Similarly in England, at a particular time, we speak about the Queen, the elections or the weather. Parenthetically, it may be noticed that an implicit context can always be made explicit, e.g. the instance with the elephant may imply that

7. Yesterday I saw an elephant which, like all other elephants had a trunk. The trunk of the elephant was...

Thus the two main techniques must in fact satisfy the same conditions: first, they express or imply what or which substantive(s) we have in mind, and then refer to it by means of the to indicate that it is the same noun. In short:

8. What (which) X? - The X that...

where X stands for a noun. This may be regarded as the basic formula of the non-generic use of the definite article in English.

III. The generic use of the forms the opposite to indication and its general indefinite sense defies the above formula. It is a more sophisticated function of the definite article and, therefore, not so frequent, especially in everyday spoken English[1]. We come across it in: (1) Dictionary definitions,

9. "Head" - is that part of the body above the neck[2].

where the body and the neck stand for every body and neck of all living creatures in the world. (2) When referring to various social classes, professions, types and so on:

10. The rogue like the artist and perhaps the gentleman belongs to no class. (Shaw)
11. The butcher sells meat and the grocer sells coffee.
12. The beggars are sometimes happier than the millionaires.

(3) Species of animals and plants:

13. The dog is vigilant.
14. The pine grows in northern countries.
15. The lions are animals.
16. The emerald is akin to the beryl.

(4) Technological and cultural products (most of them in colloquial speech):

17. The motor car is said to be displacing the railway.
18. He plays the piano, the violin, and the flute.
19. The book, the newspaper, the play, and the films are strong influences in our life.

(5) In discussing natural surroundings, general division of time, etc.:

20. He spent his free days in the country; he lay on the ground watching the sky and the sea and listening to the wind.

21. Though Martin lives in the present he thinks of the past and dreams of the future.

In some cases certain accepted customary habits are equally or more decisive than purely grammatical reasons.

22. He is wanted on the telephone.

In 22, the sense remains generic rather than non-generic also when there is only one definite apparatus in the room. It is simply because we usually do not care to identify such commonplace things as a telephone apparatus. In examples like

23. The exception proves the rule

we are always conscious of something more universally (i.e., generically) valid even if we find it in a context perfectly satisfying the basic formula of the non-generic use.

These and similar instances provide another evidence of how the live language blurs clear-cut border lines imposed on it by grammatical description.

Apart from the "what/which/X? - The X that..." formula, it is possible to point to some additional formal conditions facilitating the correct interpretation of <u>the</u>. The first important indicator is grammatical tense. The generic sense of nouns cannot on the whole be expressed in the continuous or perfect (continuous) contexts because of their temporal definiteness if compared with the simple tenses. Thus the perfectly natural statement

24. The lion is an animal

with the generic <u>the lion</u> when changed, e.g., into the present perfect, would need a specially conceived elaborated situation to keep the original sense of its subject unaltered.

25. The lion has always been an animal as long as I have been studying zoology.

The generic sounds less artificial though in the

26. The motor car has become very popular in our country.

Another formal mark incompatible with the generic sense are locative adverbials. They specify substances irrespective of grammatical tenses. For example, in:

27. The dog over there is (is being, has been, etc.) vigilant

<u>the dog</u> remains non-generic because of <u>over there</u>.

IV. The distinction between the non-generic and generic uses of the indefinite article runs along similar lines. On the one side, there is non-generic <u>a</u> standing for one individual entity and keeping more or less strictly its original sense of <u>one</u>, as in:

28. A man and a woman were sitting in front of me,

and, on the other hand, generic <u>a</u> similar in meaning to <u>any</u>:

29. A dog growls.

The typical generic usage includes various kinds of comparison, e.g.,

30. He drinks like a fish.

31. As busy as a bee.

Another instance of genericness constitutes the so-called "distributive

a". It usually denotes the proportion of one thing to another, namely that of a unit of measurement (time, space, weight, number) to the thing measured:

32. The scale is 2 inches to a mile.
33. What! At three and six a bottle!
34. Once in a year.

Sometimes generic a serves as a deliberate device for veiling the non-generic sense, e.g., in order to designate one definite person that should be admonished or advised, the speaker may choose the less personal form a as in:

35. What a man is to do in such a case?

where a man practically means the same as one or even I.

As in the case of the, some contextual circumstances facilitate the distinction between the generic and non-generic functions of the indefinite article. Like the, generic a shows preference for the simple tenses at the expense of the continuous and perfect (continuous) ones; compare

36. A cow eats hay

as opposed to non-generic:

37. A cow is eating (has eaten) (has been eating) hay.

The above-mentioned preference stands to reason if we realize that, for example, the present simple itself may be called a generic "omni-present" tense[3] in contrast to the more specific sense associated with the continuous or perfect forms.

A locative adverbial is another distinctive non-generic mark:

38. A cow eats hay over there.

Compare 37 and 38:

39. A child could do it. (generic)
40. A child turned the corner and came into view. (non-generic)

Particularly noteworthy also is syntactic position. According to West[4] about 90 per cent of all nouns with a forming a direct subject of a sentence imply the generic sense, e.g.,

41. An insect has six legs.
42. A cow is an animal.

In 42, a cow and an animal cannot be interpreted in exactly the same way for any cow is an animal but only some animals are cows.

V. Our next point is the comparison between generic the and a. In most cases the difference is not as clear-cut as in the non-generic versus generic opposition and so in many of the above instances generic the can be replaced by generic a (and vice versa) without any real change in meaning. Thus we may say both:

43. The (a) butcher sells meat and the (a) grocer sells coffee.
44. The (a) dog is vigilant.
45. A (the) cow is an animal.

Similarly in the distributive use:

46. It costs three and six the (a) bottle.
47. It sells at 2$ the (a) bushel.
48. Once in a year.
49. Twice in the week.

Sometimes the accepted usage or habit determines which article is preferable. For instance, we generally say:

50. The man in the street,

but

51. A man of the world.
52. A man about town.

In examples where the difference is perceptible, generic a functions as a singularizing form rather similar in meaning to every whereas the represents aggregating genericness; it embraces the whole plurality, like all. Thus it is possible to put either the or a in:

53. The (a) motor car is a practical means of transport,

but only the in:

54. The motor car has become very popular in our country,

because here the motor car stands for all cars taken collectively. This sense of all especially stands out with nouns in the plural. Then it may also imply a contrast between one class and another. Note:

55. The roses have nothing to do with the quadrupeds or the fishes.

The same applies to substantives and adjectives (participles) used substantively with collective force:

56. The public (the nobility, the gentry, etc.) is (are) not admitted.
57. The living and the dead.

VI. At the beginning of this discussion, we singled out ØCs and ØU as always generic. When compared with generic the and a, they sometimes imply a still different shade of contextual meaning thus adding to the variety of expression. On the whole, they are the most abstract forms of all. ØU is viewed as substance or notion as such extending indefinitely in space or time, and in ØCs a quantitative sense, if at all perceived, turns out irrelevant.

The zero article focuses our attention on quality which is independent of any number and, in fact, even obscures it, e.g.,

58. Science looks for truth.
59. Men were deceivers ever. (Shakespeare)
60. Gold, iron, tin, oxygen, and hydrogen are elements.
61. We watched the (Ø) life ebb out of him.

In 61, the life is preferable as it lends more directness and vividness than life alone which is abstract and generalized. ØCs form the plural equivalent of aC if the latter is also generic.[5] Compare:

62. A hill is the opposite of a valley.
63. Hills are the opposite of valleys.

The independence of the zero article on quantity which may be both large and small can be illustrated in the next three examples:

64. I like tea.
65. She'll be making tea soon.
66. She didn't get tea this morning.

What really matters in all these examples is the drink called tea.

In contexts where the quantity is of interest, we must add separate quantifiers:

67. She got a lot of tea this morning.
68. A strand of hillocks.
69. A nation of shopkeepers.

VII. The points raised here certainly do not exhaust the problem of the non-generic and generic article usage in English. They rather suggest a general method of teaching the subject of articles as a whole.

In a nutshell, the following things seem relevant here:

1. The criteria for the division of nouns into common and proper names.
2. The interpretation of common nouns from the viewpoint of their countability or uncountability. (In this respect the series of dictionaries by A. S. Hornby, E. V. Gatenby, and H. Wakefield designed for foreign students of various stages of advancement prove of particular value because of their C-U basis for treatment of nouns.)
3. The functions of the definite, indefinite and the zero articles with Cs and Us forming six possible combinations.
4. Primary division of the six combinations into forms with the zero article and the rest.
5. Secondary division of the combinations with *the* and *a* into non-generic and generic.
6. Detailed description of each combination.
7. Comparison of meanings within the generic uses.

NOTES

[1]According to the author's investigation carried out on printed material, only about 20 per cent of all *the* were generic.

[2]Cf. A. S. Hornby, E. V. Gatenby, and H. Wakefield. *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, London: O.U.P. (1948), 458.

[3]Cf. O. Jespersen. *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, IV, 2.1/2/, Copenhagen, (1949).

[4]*A General List of English Words*, London: Longmans (1955), 1.

[5]This statement should be qualified by the predicative use of nouns with non-generic *a* in the singular which turns into a partigeneric sense of the zero article in the plural in examples like:

A cow is an animal - Cows are animals.

Editor's note: In a recent article, other evidence is given for deriving *a* from *one* and *any*. See: Perlmutter, David M. "On the article in English," in Bierwisch, M. and K. E. Heidolph, Eds. *Recent Developments in Linguistics*. The Hague: Mouton. (1971).

INSTANT TESL:
OR, THE POSSIBILITIES OF SHORT-TERM "TRAINING"

Lois McIntosh

Although teaching English as a foreign or second language is clearly recognized as a profession, with academic standing and relevant applications, it still attracts many well-meaning volunteers, who in their innocence, ask for help in sessions that can only be described as "instant TESL". The encounter may come in the form of a telephone call from an earnest housewife who needs the "right book" for teaching her new maid to cope with the supermarket in English. It may come in the more serious form of a man bound overseas to set up an expensive language laboratory. Fully capable as an engineer, he has belatedly come to understand that the material and procedures to be used in the laboratory may require some acquaintance with language teaching.

On a more permanent basis, short encounters with the rationale and procedures of the profession also take various shapes. There have been short-term Peace Corps training programs, in which TESL shared time with training in sensitivity, language of the host country, and other considerations. It is significant that many Peace Corps Volunteers, their tour of duty over, return to the University for study in depth of the discipline they had just touched on before plunging into classrooms overseas.

Missionaries make up another group that manages some time for learning more about language teaching. And increasingly, university extension classes meeting once or twice a week over a three or four month period offer training to teachers faced with the growing problems of language and dialect obstacles to communication in their classrooms.

Although the disadvantages of short-term exposure to the profession can be readily recognized, national organizations such as TESOL and NAFSA still try to bridge the gap between the classroom teacher with little or no preparation for coping with the bilingual learner and the wealth of information to be gained from the on-going research in the discipline. One such attempt was made at the Fifth Annual Conference of TESOL held in New Orleans during the first week of March 1971. As chairman of the pre-convention study groups, I had two days in which to supply the rationale and suggest solutions for the language problems arising in many different classrooms. Attending these sessions, there would be teachers of speakers of several languages and dialects: Navaho and other Indian tongues, Spanish and other world languages, and various divergent dialects of English. And the teachers would be on all levels: elementary, high school, and adult. Besides teachers, administrators of rapidly growing programs with all the problems of financing and staffing would also participate. To make the two days useful and illuminating for this audience took many months of preliminary planning and the talents of most of my colleagues.

I thought this divergent group needed more individualization than the typical conference allowed. In former pre-convention study groups, the format had generally followed that of the regular conference. That is, there were plenary sessions, with speakers sometimes better known as national figures than as language specialists. Their topics, interesting and wide-ranging in themselves, did not always transfer readily to discussions of classroom problems. Evaluations of former conferences suggested that there was a gap between the messages of the plenary sessions and the subjects discussed or neglected in the small groups.

To overcome this discrepancy, and to make every session count, we devised an alternative. Four sessions were planned around the skills necessary in teaching and learning a second language. The strategies and the rationale of the four were presented by theme setters who knew their subjects thoroughly and knew how to communicate with this audience. Speaking and hearing occupied the first morning. That afternoon, beginning and advanced reading in a second language was thoroughly examined. The following morning, writing and composition was presented, followed by an afternoon session on testing and evaluation. The small groups convened following each theme presentation.

Here, the leaders were well prepared to lead discussions of the themes, for the preceding winter, the theme setters had written to them, outlining the substance of their presentations. The leaders then planned activities suitable for the teachers in their particular groups.

There were thirteen groups, one for administrators, and twelve based on ethnic and age-level divisions: American Indian, Spanish, other languages, other dialects, divided into groups for teachers of elementary, secondary, and adult. This was as specific as we could make it because there were problems of staffing as some school districts could not or would not finance the journeys of the group leaders.

The groups were as good as the people who led them, and most of the leaders were helpful and resourceful. One or two groups deteriorated into rap sessions, dominated by a vocal minority. However, the majority stayed with the business at hand. The honest exchange of experience and ideas was, according to the evaluation of the participants, the strongest part of the session.

Of course, nobody achieved professional competence in ESL during that short session. But questions were raised, people listened to other people, and much was accomplished. Although the session was short, the preparation for it had taken most of the preceding year, and this undoubtedly helped make it a useful program. If any of the participants went home and read some of the suggested references, or tried out some of the strategies, or managed to communicate with their learners more effectively, then this short encounter was worth the trouble.

A LANGUAGE APTITUDE TEST FOR THE JAPANESE (GTT)

Ken Murakami
Randolph H. Thrasher

1. Research Plans

In order to develop a valid measure of language aptitude, we planned a four-step program of research. The first step was to arrive at a list of skills that are assumed to be indicative of language aptitude. To help us reach as broad a consensus as possible as to what these skills are, we asked the opinion of many people who have been through the language learning experience themselves and who are also experienced in teaching foreign languages to the Japanese.

After we had a list of the skills thought to be crucial in determining aptitude, the next step was to build a battery of tests composed of several subtests which we believed would measure those skills. The third step was to try out our tests in order to discover what connection there is between language learning ability and the scores on the subtests. From this pre-pretest (as we are calling it), we hoped to arrive at four or five subtests, all of which would measure different aspects of language aptitude and yet show a high correlation with language learning ability.

The fourth and last step in this research, which we have yet to take, is to try out the revised final form of the test on a nation-wide scale. Before releasing it for general use, we must have data to assure our prospective users that 1) the test does in fact measure language aptitude (that it has high validity), 2) the test measures it consistently (that it is reliable), and 3) the norms of the test are relevant to the group they wish to test.

The pretest will have to be administered nation-wide to selected groups of students, representing as many different types of students and study courses as possible. This is essential for two reasons, 1) we want to make a widely usable test, and 2) we need this information in order to prepare a test manual.

2. Interim Report

Step 1. Preparing a list of skills indicative of language aptitude.

We had to begin our project by assuming what skills were involved in learning a language and then testing such assumptions. In order to make the aptitude skill list as objective and comprehensive as possible, we asked many language teachers and students to participate in preparing the list by answering a questionnaire circulated nation-wide in the February issue of Eigo Kyoiku, published by Taishukan Publishing Company.

The questionnaire (see Table 1) listed 30 different qualities considered by 20 English teachers as possibly related to language learning and each quality was evaluated in one of three ways:

		1. highly	2. a little	3. not	4. * (1-3)
1.	ability to memorize figures	76	91	39	37
2.	memory retention power	156	49	8	148
3.	singing ability	45	99	65	
4.	mimicking ability	108	88	16	92
5.	rich Japanese vocabulary	98	82	28	70
6.	ability to speak Japanese well	82	88	36	46
7.	cheerful personality	83	80	49	34
8.	high I.Q.	108	88	13	95
9.	imagination	110	77	19	91
10.	fondness for foreign languages	188	25	0	188
11.	fondness for music	52	92	64	
12.	reasoning ability	113	75	21	92
13.	sociability	86	81	42	44
14.	good grades in school	80	106	21	59
15.	physical coordination	21	71	117	
16.	outgoing personality	86	84	38	51
17.	argumentative personality	39	91	81	
18.	creativity	81	98	31	50
19.	sensitivity to sounds	159	46	8	151
20.	ability to solve puzzles	25	84	99	
21.	exposure to foreign cultures	117	75	18	99
22.	mental concentration ability	157	51	4	153
23.	fondness for reading	72	103	35	37
24.	patience	149	57	7	142
25.	logic	64	112	34	30
26.	fondness for Japanese composition	49	99	62	
27.	ability to see cause and effect	69	100	40	29
28.	rapid speech	28	63	119	
29.	ability to do algebra	13	67	127	
30.	carefree personality	49	88	73	

Table 1.
Possible Factors Contributing to Language Learning Ability

a. that it was considered highly helpful for foreign language learning,
b. that it was considered a little helpful, or
c. that it was considered not helpful.

For a possible expansion of this list, we provided several blank boxes at the end of the questionnaire so that the respondents could add other qualities to evaluate.

Two hundred thirteen questionnaires were collected and tabulated (Table 1). In addition to the three response figures (highly, a little, not), a fourth response figure (in the "*" column) was calculated by deducting the number of not responses from the number of highly responses. The top ten qualities in the fourth response figure were chosen as strong candidates for components of language aptitude (circled items on Table 1).

Some seventy other qualities were added to the list by respondents. These were combined whenever possible into broader categories to increase their rating, but none of them was considered important by more than a few respondents.

Step 2. Building a battery of aptitude subtests.

Obviously some qualities on the list can hardly be considered to compose language aptitude. For example, "fondness for foreign languages" can be greatly influenced by the student's liking of his teachers, his classmates, his class atmosphere, etc. "Exposure to foreign cultures" can also be easily controlled by changing his physical environment. This nature of easy fluctuation by the influence of external factors goes counter to our thesis that aptitude is a set of special skills which the student was born with or has developed through his upbringing. Therefore these aptitude skills are not easily subject to environmental changes or short training.

Regarding language aptitude, many have raised the question, "Why not use intelligence tests to predict success in foreign languages?" No doubt, I.Q. does correlate with foreign language success, but it is much less related to foreign language success than it is to success in other school subjects. On this point, Dr. John B. Carroll says, "Most of the commonly employed intelligence tests measure a number of abilities simultaneously. While a few of these abilities may be relevant to foreign language success, most are not and their net effect is to depress the correlation of intelligence with foreign language success." *

As we felt that qualities such as "mental concentration ability," "patience," and "imagination" are all reflective of personality traits, we employed the Yadabe-Gilford Personality Test and the Uchida-Clipelin Test (spelled phonetically), the two such tests most widely used in Japan, to see if the personality qualities measured thereby had any connection to language learning ability.

To measure the remaining four qualities (sensitivity to sounds, memory retention power, reasoning ability, and mimicking ability), we built a five-part test, described as follows.

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* Modern Language Aptitude Test Manual, (New York: The Psychological Corporation, 1958), p. 22.

Part A. Vocabulary Memory Test (50 items)

This measures the ability to memorize vocabulary in hypothetical languages in a limited period of time. It has two sub-parts: a) 25-word vocabulary in Roman letters contrasted to Japanese words, and b) 25-word vocabulary in nonsensical katakana vs. Japanese words.

Part B. Grammar Test (20 items)

This measures the ability to understand the grammar or the language system by quickly recognizing the underlying rules of various hypothetical languages from limited information.

Part C. Tone Recognition Test (25 items)

This measures the ability to recognize the phonetic levels and glides of speech in a hypothetical language. This ability is considered particularly important for learning a tone language such as Chinese.

Part D. Speech Mimicking Test (25 items)

This measures the ability to imitate what is spoken. However it does not require the test subject to mimic orally. It is based on the assumption (validated on a small sample) that the better one can trace the sounds in katakana, the better he can mimic.

Part E. Memory Retention Test (25 items)

This measures delayed recall: whether or not one can remember what was once memorized, even after considerable amount of mental interference.

For the sake of high reliability and easy administration to large groups, all five subtests employed multiple choice items. For each subtest, many more items than we thought necessary were prepared and tested for their validity and reliability.

3. Discussion

The discussion which follows is based on data collected from an extremely small sample. Table 2 reports the arithmetic mean and standard deviation for the six test groups and for the total population on each of the three criterion measures and the part and total GTT scores. As Table 2 shows, the total population was less than 300 and the individual groups averaged less than 50. Because the population was drawn exclusively from students at the Osaka YMCA (who have signed up and paid for English instruction), we have reason to believe that they are more highly motivated and confident in their language learning ability than students in the usual non-elective English course in junior or senior high school or college. In fact, we called this first administration a pre-pretest to indicate our awareness of the frailty of our sample and the very tentative nature of the conclusions we could confidently draw from the data.

	N		RSC	RC	IR	Part 1 (50)	Part 2 (20)	Part 3 (25)	Part 4 (25)	Part 5 (25)	Total (145)
Secretarial	25	M	4.4	0.04	4.80	31.44	10.52	23.80	18.78	14.8	98.92
		SD	22.36	6.02	1.35	7.02	2.70	2.04	1.43	4.59	10.26
Intensive	46	M	19.35	0.24	4.46	26.17	8.54	22.57	18.8	13.15	89.24
		SD	12.98	6.37	0.96	8.30	2.78	2.31	1.45	5.19	15.32
Advanced Conv.	43	M	-16.09	0.02	3.70	29.16	9.72	22.37	17.47	15.56	92.74
		SD	11.37	7.50	1.04	8.38	3.70	2.57	2.33	5.07	16.15
Basic Conv.	58	M			4.28	27.24	8.48	21.76	17.79	12.53	87.79
		SD			1.15	8.23	2.30	2.81	1.76	5.12	14.59
Junior High	71	M			4.38	23.63	8.21	20.66	17.18	11.62	81.42
		SD			1.62	7.05	2.86	3.92	2.35	3.94	12.98
Grade 6	47	M			5.04	18.40	5.62	18.81	16.87	7.70	67.79
		SD			1.16	4.45	1.87	3.20	2.15	2.84	8.32
Total Population	290 (114)*	M	(2.72)*	(0.04)*	4.41	25.40	8.30	22.65	17.69	12.10	84.99
		SD	(21.66)*	(6.52)*	1.31	8.35	3.07	3.30	2.11	4.97	16.20

Table 2.
Results of the Initial Administration of the Pre-pretest

M = Mean SD = Standard Deviation
IR = Instructor's Rating
RC = Rank Change (change of each student's standing or rank in the class, based on RSC)
RSC = Rawscore Change (change in scores on the YMCA English Proficiency Test
* = first 3 groups only

Part	Number of Items	Acceptable (Validity above .15)	Average Difficulty of Acceptable Items
1	50	.48	.48
2	20	.15	.50
3	25	.10	.24
4	15	.15	.27
5	25	.05	.24
6	15	.15	.51
7	25	.25	.49

*revision

Table 3.
Item Analysis

	r
Secretarial	0.29
Intensive	0.37
Advanced Conv.	0.04
Basic Conv.	0.48
Junior High	0.47
Grade 6	0.46

Table 4.
Validity of Pre-pretest Compared with IR

Because the scores on Part 3 were extremely high (Table 2), and the item analysis (Table 3) showed Part 3 and 4 to be weak, these two sections of the test have been extensively revised and, we believe, strengthened. These revised parts have been pre-tested on a small sample for purposes of item analysis. Note that Part 3 is the only section on which we have been unable to obtain an approximation of the .50 difficulty we were striving for. The validity data reported in Table 4 is based on the test results of the initial administration. We are hopeful that the validity of the test will be improved by the revision of Part 3 and 4.

4. Findings

The comparison of GTT scores and progress in the EPT scores showed a correlation of only .20. We had assumed that progress in the same course of instruction would be a better indicator of aptitude, but raw score change and rank change proved to give consistently lower r values (coefficient of correlation) when compared with GTT scores.

There is almost no correlation for one group of advanced students simply because changes in EPT scores after 6 months of instruction were extremely small. This leads us to believe that in other groups with a spread of student ability, the better students tended to depress the correlation.

We did collect one bit of evidence which may shed some light on an old controversy in Japan, the controversy that certain personality-types learn a foreign language better than other types. We gave the Uchida-Clipelin Personality Inventory Battery to two small groups and then compared the results obtained to GTT scores. We found no significant correlation between GTT scores and any one trait or the psychologists' overall evaluation.

Table 4 gives an indication of the various correlation statistics we obtained. Several tentative conclusions can be made from this data. First, with advanced students (i.e., students with extensive work and fair proficiency in a foreign language), it is difficult with our present measure to distinguish aptitude from proficiency. However, we are trying to resolve this problem by finding a criterion measure that magnifies individual differences at this level. Second, although we are far from satisfied with the correlations obtained, we are encouraged in their general positive trend. At this point we have more confidence in GTT as a measure of aptitude than in the criterion measures with which we have compared it.

5. The Next Steps

Our plan had been to pretest GTT nation-wide beginning in March, 1971, but we have decided to defer that task until we find more suitable criterion measures or obtain more information about the criterion measures we are currently using. Specifically, we need to know how to compare changes in raw scores over various ranges of the total score.

We are planning to try out the revised GTT on several hundred beginning junior high students in order to test the hypothesis that the GTT scores of beginning students will show a higher correlation with criterion measures (teachers' ratings, grades, proficiency tests).

We have not yet reached our goal of producing an aptitude test for Japanese which has acceptable validity and reliability. But we feel that we have made considerable progress toward that goal. We trust that the publicity engendered by our work will continue to interest teachers, school administrators and researchers in the problem of language aptitude.

TRANSFER AND INTERFERENCE AS SPECIAL CASES OF INDUCTION AND SUBSTITUTION

John W. Oller, Jr.

A child is born with the capacity to process certain kinds of information.* As he matures he becomes able to handle more and more intricate and abstract patterns of experience and thought. At present it is not known to what extent this increase in capability is due to environmental experience or to physiological maturation. Within the last decade, an old argument has been rejuvenated concerning the sufficiency of empirical theories of learning which emphasize the context of experience in contrast with rational theories which stress the innate capacity of the learner. The difficulty of choosing sides in the dispute may be averted by noting at the outset that both the learner's innate capacity and the role of context must be dealt with by an adequate theory. Today I will present a sketch of a theory of learning based on man's inherited ability to discriminate and categorize the elements of his experience. Within the proposed theory, I will attempt to explain transfer and interference in first and second language processing. Some implications for foreign language program design will be discussed briefly.

The theory which I will present is based on the supposition that the rules which govern language communication are probabilistic in application[1] and pragmatic in nature.[2] By saying that the rules are pragmatic, I mean that they relate elements of experience and thought to linguistic units and sequences, and vice versa. The necessity for this premise has been discussed at some length in earlier publications so I will not attempt to resubstantiate it here.[3] With this assumption in mind, let us consider a general theory of learning.

It is a common myth that the sensory experience of the child is unstructured. This is a gross exaggeration of the moderately important fact that the order and frequency of sensations are rarely controlled with algebraic precision. They are, however, probabilistically controlled. The metaphorical view of the child as receiving a continuous random noise input on sensory channels is perniciously deceptive. The fact is that the informational input to the child is characterized by a distinct discreteness and order rather than randomness. Moreover, the child's sensory apparatus directed by an attention mechanism responds systematically to the environment. Focusing on, say, a wooden block does not alternately produce images of circles, squares, bottles, rattles, etc. The stable patterns of perceivable objects in space and time are reflected in the sensory experience of the child. When he sees, touches, hears, smells, tastes, or any combination of these, his sensations vary with the topography of the external environment. The input is not an undifferentiated spectrum of noise, but a sequence of relatively discrete sensory impressions. These impressions vary with the portions of space-time to which attention is directed.

On each successive occasion that the child hears a word or sees an object, that word or object revives at least part of the sensory impression that was caused by it before. In learning, the child in some way collects and classifies these sensory impressions such that eventually a previously meaningless stimulus becomes meaningful. He no longer

merely has an impression, but he has an impression of an object or an event.[4] In a sense, he says, "Aha! I know what that is!" In keeping with the traditions of philosophy and psychology, I will refer to this process of categorization as induction.

Such a process can be fairly rigorously defined. Let P represent any relatively distinct object of experience (in the broadest sense of this term, i.e., including events, locations, ideas, etc.). Allow $P_{[cs]_1}$ to stand for the first impression caused by attending to P, and $P_{[cs]_n}$ to represent the nth impression caused by attending to P. The subscript cs is a variable complex-symbol including sensory and contextual information associated with P on different occasions. Let S represent the relationship of sameness defined in terms of the repetition of features of the $P_{[cs]}$'s occurring on different occasions. A rule of induction may then be stated as follows:

$$(1)\quad S\,(P_{[cs]_1}, \ldots, P_{[cs]_n}) \rightarrow C_{/cs/}$$

where $C_{/cs/}$ is an induced category or concept. For example, if a child repeatedly sees, touches, etc., an object, say, a little red ball in his crib, the separate perceptual events are related by virtue of their similarity and eventually the child is able to say, in a sense, "Aha! There it is again." Obviously, the same sort of induction could occur if the perceptual events were in a different modality, and if they involved an entirely different kind of object, say a spoken word. What is still more important is that the rule applies recursively such that members of object categories previously induced become available as features of more complex perceptual events which lead to higher level categories.

Because the rule of induction applies recursively, it is in principle capable of explaining a concept of any level of complexity or abstractness so long as it has its origins in the categorization of perceivable entities and relations between them. I believe that all concepts are based ultimately on sensory experience in this sense. Regardless of its power, however, the rule of induction by itself is inadequate to explain the creative manipulation of categories in thought and language. The child seems to know innately that to the extent of their sameness, objects are substitutable for each other. An identity is completely intersubstitutable with itself, and class members are substitutable for each other. An identity is completely intersubstitutable with itself, and class members are substitutable on the dimensions which generate the class. For example, any member of the class of functional regulation basketballs will serve in a basketball game. Any vocalization of the word "pencil" will do to refer to a pencil, and any pencil can be referred to by that vocalization. It is possible, of course, to make substitutions of a much more complex sort. In our imaginations it is a simple matter to conceive of things we have never seen--e.g., a real live pink elephant. It is a bit more difficult to imagine a green (in the visual sense) idea, or a square circle. This is because there are restrictions on the kinds of substitutions which can be made. These facts may be summarized in a rule of substitution:

$$(2)\quad \frac{C_{/cs_i/}}{C_{/cs_j/}} \qquad \text{to the extent that } cs_i = cs_j$$

In other words, a given concept can be substituted for another wherever and to the extent that their complex symbols are the same. This rule is

essential to account for the fundamental fact of linguistic creativity.

It is important to note that while both of these rules must apply initially only to concrete objects, then to relations between objects, then to relations between relations, etc., the "etc." here allows the child to achieve any level of abstraction. As new concepts are induced, although they may be tied directly to concrete objects in the initial stages, they achieve a certain independence from external reality and may themselves function as aspects of complex symbols for higher level objects of perception.[5] For example, though the category of say, noun, initially may consist largely of words which name persons, locations, and concrete objects, it eventually achieves a considerably greater extension by virtue of its connection with other grammatical categories. For words, and word sequences, the complex symbol acquired by the child must inevitably encompass both kinds of information.

In summary, what I have said so far is that (1) linguistic and other categories are acquired inductively through the observation of similarities. (2) To the extent of their similarity, stated in terms of their complex symbols, concepts are mutually substitutable. (3) New dimensions of conceptualization can be derived through the recursive application of the rules of induction and substitution.

At this point I would like to suggest that the principles of induction and substitution are also the basis of the processing of information by adults.[6] In classical studies of transfer and interference, the importance of similarities among stimuli and their contexts has been universally recognized. It is a bit disturbing, however, that in some cases, similarities among items make processing easier, and in other cases, they make it more difficult. It is seemingly paradoxical that similarity is both a condition for normal learning and transfer, and for interference.[7] This fact has been borne out by so many experimental studies, however, that it is scarcely questionable.

For instance, it has been demonstrated repeatedly that acoustic similarities among items may result in interference in short-term memory (Baddeley, 1966b, Adams, Thorsheim, and McIntyre, 1969, Kintsch and Buschke, 1969), and that the amount of interference is roughly proportional to the degree of similarity (Crowder, 1969). For example, the sequence VBDGPCT is more difficult to recall than KPSJRLQ. In fact, even complete repetition of an item at non-adjacent points in a list increases the difficulty of recall (this is known as "the Ranschburg effect", cf. Jahnke, 1969). In experiments where longer term memory is required, it is semantic similarity which causes interference (Baddeley, 1966a, Pollack, 1969, and White, 1969).

In classical paradigms of paired-associate learning, similarity has facilitating effects in some cases and interferes in others. Three classical paired-associate learning paradigms are discussed by Osgood (1949). In the first type, subjects learn to respond to a list of stimulus items with a given set of responses. They are then required to learn a new set of responses to the same stimuli. This results in interference between the old and new responses which decreases with increasing similarity between them. In the second type of experiment, the paradigm is reversed so that new stimulus items are paired with old responses. In this case, positive transfer occurs and is proportional to the degree of similarity among the old and new stimulus items. A third design involves learning a completely new list of pairs. Here, prior learning makes it

more difficult to acquire the new list, and the degree of interference increases with increasing similarity between the lists.

All of the foregoing suggests the following definitions of transfer and interference:

transfer = df the facilitation of processing due to the similarity of items to be processed with items previously processed.

interference = df an increase in the difficulty of processing due to the similarity of items to be processed with items previously processed.

It is clear that both transfer and interference are special cases of induction and substitution of categories based on similarities among the members of those categories. However, the stated definitions by themselves are inadequate to predict which will occur in a given processing problem where similarities exist. In order to make such a prediction, it is necessary to state the following conditions for interference:

(1) The items to be stored or retrieved must be functionally identical on some but not all of the cognitive dimensions utilized for storage,

(2) They must be in or near the focus of attention at nearly the same time.

When these conditions are met, increasing similarity will result in greater interference. When they are not met, similarity will result in proportionate transfer.

To illustrate a case of interference meeting these conditions, if you are required to store the items VBPDGCT in short-term memory and recall them immediately, since they are similar acoustically, and since it is primarily acoustic features which are utilized for short-term storage, these items will interfere with each other to the extent of their similarity. By contrast, since the dimensions utilized for storage in longer-term memory are primarily semantic ones, hence, here interference is generated by semantic closeness. All of the cases of interference and transfer in paired-associate learning noted earlier can also be explained within this framework.

By now I suspect that you are all wondering how any of this is relevant to contrastive analysis and language learning. The answer is that the principles of learning discussed to this point are apparently psycholinguistic universals and have been shown to operate across languages in bilingualism and second language learning. For example, it has been shown that a paired-associate learning task for bilinguals is increased in difficulty if the new responses to old stimuli are translation equivalents of the previously learned responses (Kintsch and Kintsch, 1969). In an experiment with what is known as the Stroop color-word effect, it has been demonstrated with English-French bilinguals that the difficulty of naming in English the color of ink that a French word is printed in is increased if the printed word is itself the French name of a different color. For instance, the French word bleu might be printed in red ink. An English-French bilingual is then required to name the color of the ink in English. The printed word interferes with the naming of the color, and the degree of interference is increased by an increase in the formal similarity of the printed word and its English equivalent. These results were replicated with English-Hungarian bilinguals (Preston and Lambert, 1969). It has recently been

demonstrated that the learning of the English spelling system is apparently interfered with by the knowledge of another roman script (Oller and Ziahosseiny, 1970).

The effects of positive transfer are also well documented in second language learning experiments. Sounds which are functionally close to identity have been shown to transfer across languages (Lane, 1964). Transfer has also been demonstrated in English article usage for learners whose native language employs equivalents of our definite and indefinite articles (Oller and Redding, 1971). In a particularly interesting experiment with bilinguals, it has been shown that practicing a sentence in one language facilitates reading its translation aloud in another language under delayed auditory feedback (MacKay and Bowman, 1969). Transfer in second language learning also occurs in pattern drill where learners are placed in familiar communicative contexts and made aware of meaning (Oller and Obrecht, 1969).

All of the foregoing may have important implications for foreign language program design and classroom practice. If transfer and interference are in fact the result of the application of the principles of induction and substitution under the conditions described here, it should be possible to seriously entertain the question of how we can minimize interference and maximize transfer. Before attempting to give a partial answer to this question, let me note parenthetically that it has been shown recently that release from interference can be achieved by changing the surrounding context in which similar items are presented in verbal processing experiments (Wickens, 1968, and Turvey and Egan, 1969). In concert with all of the preceding, this suggests that formally and semantically similar elements should be presented in contrasting contexts. As Richards (1970) noted last year at the TESOL Convention, interference is precisely the outcome we should expect when students are required to process syntactically and acoustically similar forms nearly simultaneously in many pattern drill situations. Any set of materials which makes syntactic and other formal criteria its main basis of organization is automatically building in interference traps for the student. Strings of formally similar sentences which have little if any meaningful connection with each other and which are not related to meaningful contexts provide the optimal condition for interference within the target language, and between it and the native language. Needless to say, this kind of pitfall is systematically (albeit unintentionally) planned into many current foreign language programs.

In conclusion, I have attempted to show that transfer and interference can be interpreted as special cases of induction and substitution; that the same principles which result in learning, under certain conditions function in the second language learning situation.

NOTES

*Paper presented at the Pacific Conference on Contrastive Linguistics and Language Universals, January, 1971, Honolulu, Hawaii.

[1]Although the assumption that linguistic rules are probabilistic in nature is contrary to Chomskyan thinking, it has rather convincing empirical support (Clark, 1965, Morton, 1964, and Coleman, 1963). This has also been noted by Pruča (1970).

[2]The pragmatic nature of grammatical rules has been discussed in several earlier publications (Oller, Sales, and Harrington, 1969, Oller and Sales, 1969, Oller, 1970, and Oller, in press [a]).

[3]In addition to the references of note 2, see Reichling (1961) and Uhlenbeck (1963, 1967).

[4]It is a well-known fact that a child does not automatically and immediately discriminate objects in his environment, but must actually learn to do so (Osgood, 1963).

[5]When I say here that induced concepts have a degree of independence from external reality, I am not suggesting as Chomsky (1968 and earlier) has that the use of language is free from any kind of stimulus control--rather that the internal representations of stimuli are to a certain extent independent of their external counterparts thus freeing the learner to use them in novel ways. Nor am I saying as Chomsky (1965) and Katz and Fodor (1963) have suggested that the creative use of language allows the construction of forms which bear "no physical resemblance" to forms previously experienced. A certain amount of physical similarity between new forms and old ones is necessary for them to either be produced or understood.

[6]I have used the term "information processing" here in order to avoid the difficulties of distinguishing sensory stimulation, perception, and learning, and at the same time to take advantage of the fact that there are many parallels between them. Below, I draw on data from all three areas.

[7]One might attempt to escape the difficulty of this paradox by challenging the validity of the experiments which suggest it. These studies have been done by so many different investigators with such a variety of experimental designs that the attempt would no doubt fail. What is required is an explanation of the great mass of data already available which will resolve the apparent paradox. Osgood (1949) had noted the problem and suggested a solution in terms of the paired-associate data then available.

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DIFFICULTY, CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS, AND PREDICTABILITY

John W. Oller, Jr.

Now that we are well into the next-to-the-last day of a six-day conference,* two facts seem to be emerging.[1] In the first place, in spite of a certain amount of rather healthy skepticism in some quarters (cf. the papers by Sampson and by Gradman, PCCLLU) it seems to me that the applicability of contrastive analysis as a device for predicting points of difficulty and some of the errors that learners will make has been overwhelmingly supported (cf. Nickel, Liem, Ota, Cheng, and the references in my earlier paper, PCCLLU). At the same time, a second and extremely important fact which tempers the first is that the pedagogical usefulness of CA has probably been seriously over-estimated.

CA as a method for predicting certain errors and points of difficulty is probably best regarded, at least for the present, as an experimental basis for research rather than as a pedagogical panacea. However, even as a research technique, CA has some significant limitations. As Gloria Sampson's papers have illustrated quite clearly, CA as it has been done to date does <u>not</u> predict some errors which do occur and <u>does</u> forecast some which never seem to materialize. Ota's paper (PCCLLU) also shows that there is a good deal of indeterminacy in the CA system of prediction in spite of the fact that it seems to predict difficulties on a better-than-chance basis.

Before the methods of CA can be refined enough to predict quite generally and accurately the relative ease or difficulty of target language structures, a great deal of basic theoretical and experimental research must be done. It is not always possible with current methods to predict whether transfer from the native language will have an over-all positive or a negative effect (cf. Oller and Ziahosseiny, 1970, and Oller and Redding, 1971), nor is it yet possible to determine for all structures in advance the relative magnitude of transfer. The paper by Mackey (PCCLLU) suggests a method for quantifying distances between structures and offers what seems to be a possible basis for research into this problem. Other possibilities for statistical quantification were proposed by Jackson (PCCLLU).

Presently, however, the indeterminacy mentioned above is sufficient to prevent CA from being much more than a promising basis for future research. It is unfortunate that so many textbook authors and applied linguists have made the much stronger claim that CA is the best basis for program design and classroom procedure.

In order to show that I am not merely attacking a straw man here, consider the following statements. Robert Lado (1957) says in his preface:

> The plan of the book rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty in learning, and those that will not cause difficulty, by comparing systematically the language and culture to be learned with the native language and the culture of the student. In our view, the preparation of up-to-date pedagogical and experimental materials must be based on this kind of comparison.

Politzer and Staubach (1961) say,

> By comparing the linguistic analysis of the native language of the learner...with that of the language to be studied...we highlight the major difficulties encountered by the learner. This comparison enables us to construct teaching and testing materials quite systematically and to give due emphasis to the points of real difficulty (p. 1).

They go on to speak of

> a language teaching methodology which, through systematic drills, attempts to build up the student's knowledge of the structure of the foreign language, while at the same time eliminating those errors which are caused by the patterns of the student's native English (p. 3).

Lado (1964) was still saying that

> ...contrastive descriptions...form the basis for the preparation of language texts, and tests, and for the correction of students learning a language (p. 21).

Strevens (1965) makes the statement that

> the most appropriate materials for teaching a language are those which embody a bi-lingual comparison (sometimes called a contrastive analysis) of the mother tongue and the target language.

Rivers (1964) says with reference to the audio-lingual approach,

> teaching methods rest on the careful scientific analysis of the contrasts between the learner's language and the target language (p. 13).

She goes on to say of CA,

> this is the distinctive contribution of the linguistic scientists, and the results of studies of these contrasts are incorporated in the materials prepared for class and laboratory work (p. 14).

In his introduction to the contrastive structure series, C. A. Ferguson (1965) states,

> a careful contrastive analysis of the two languages offers an excellent basis for the preparation of instructional materials, the planning of courses, and the development of actual classroom techniques (cf. p. v in Stockwell, et al, 1965).

Stockwell, Bowen and Martin (1965) themselves are more cautious in their remarks. Rivers (1968) harks back to the statement by Fries which had been quoted earlier by Lado (1957, p. 1),

> gradually the profession has accepted the idea expressed by Fries (1945, p. 9) that "the most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner."

She makes some specific suggestions as to how CA may even be applied in the classroom by alerting the student to

> ...the specific point at which interference will repeatedly occur, so that he may practice with awareness and concentration and monitor his own production with watch-

> fulness until he finds himself producing the target language forms with ease and accuracy (p. 153).

Now I do not mean even to imply that the statements quoted above do not have an element of truth in them, but I fear that they have the unfortunate effect of grossly exaggerating the importance of CA. Such statements give the impression that CA is the basis for foreign language instruction. In the face of available psycholinguistic data, such a claim is untenable.

Nickel (PCCLLU) has noted, that as the basis for a total language-teaching program, CA by itself is quite inadequate. I concur and would add that as a foundation for language teaching it is in fact entirely inappropriate. To propose CA as the fundamental basis of organizing a total instructional program (or even as the central component of such a program) is to misunderstand the very nature of the language teacher's task. At best CA can only predict some of the difficulties a learner will have and it does so in an unhappily vague way at that. To suggest it as the theoretical basis for language teaching is like proposing to use a list of differences between automobiles and airplanes as a means of transportation.

Even as an aid to language instruction, at the very most CA offers only a sketchy framework within which some aspects of the language learner's task may be considered. By itself it cannot provide a sound basis even theoretically for determining which structures to present first in a language program. Even if it could consistently predict the learner's problems, it would still be inappropriate because it does not provide the teacher with sufficient information about the fundamental psycholinguistic bases of language learning. That native speakers of English will have more difficulty in learning ser (to be) and estar (to be), than say, estudiar (to study) is a good thing for the teacher of Spanish to know, but this knowledge does not tell him how to get the distinction between ser and estar across to the learner. What the teacher needs to know is how native-speakers of Spanish differentiate the items in question, and how to teach his students to do so. Comparison with English is neither a necessary nor a sufficient basis for accomplishing this. In fact it may not even be a very helpful one.

In short, at the present time, CA does have validity as a device for predicting some of the errors a second language learner will make. It thus provides a promising basis for investigating general properties of the human rational mechanism, and it seems to be a uniquely appropriate methodology for further study of the fundamental processes of transfer and interference in learning tasks (both verbal and non-verbal). We should be careful not to underestimate its importance as a research tool, but we should note that as a basis for a total foreign language program, CA is decidedly inappropriate. On reflection it seems odd that any applied linguist should ever have taken it seriously as the theoretical foundation of language teaching. For an adequate theory of language instruction we cannot expect to merely revise CA methods, but we must develop a different approach altogether.

Today I would like to discuss some of the theoretical constructs which I believe will be essential to the development of an adequate theory of second language instruction. Later in my discussion, I will summarize a few of the pedagogical implications of the theory and research to which I will refer.

In addition to the specific contributions which some of the papers at this conference have made to the theory of CA, the extremely important theoretical issue of language universals has continued to develop with increasing clarity. While there has been little agreement about specific language universals, there has not been much argument about the universality of certain language processes. Fillmore (PCCLLU) has illustrated some of the well-known facts of linguistic reference which he and other grammarians have termed "deixis". Essentially the same issues have been dealt with previously by philosophers and logicians such as Bertrand Russell (1948) and Hans Reichenbach (1947). Following C. S. Pierce (1931-5), Charles Morris (1946), Cherry (1966) and others, I have suggested the term "pragmatics" (Oller, 1970) to refer to the system of rules by which the coding of messages in natural languages takes place. The term already has some currency among psycholinguists (for one example cf. Wason, 1965). As a system, pragmatics includes semantics and syntax and is in fact and principle a higher and more complex level of organization. For example, when I say that I am holding a paper in my hand, you use pragmatic information to determine whether I am correct or not in my assertion. You relate the verbal sequence, "I am holding a paper in my hand," to the visual stimulus before you. When I say, "There is a fire-spewing dragon in my coat pocket," you use information from present and prior perceptions to reject my statement or to accept it merely as an illustration.

Until very recently, linguists in general have argued that the domain of pragmatics was at worst irrelevant and at best unnecessary for an analysis of language. Chomskyan transformationalism continues to maintain (and I think erroneously, cf. Oller, Sales, and Harrington, 1969) that language is a self-contained system independent of its use. At least from the viewpoint of language acquisition (whether first or second) the relation between word sequences and extra-linguistic contexts is surely relevant. It is not enough for the language student to learn to produce grammatical sentences. He must also learn <u>when</u> it is appropriate to produce them. It is the important and difficult task of the language teacher to lead the student into a learning situation where he can acquire not only the capacity to discriminate well-formed verbal sequences from poorly formed ones, but where he can also learn to produce well-formed sequences on appropriate occasions.

There are at least three kinds of appropriateness which it is useful to distinguish in discussing a natural language. These derive from the constraints imposed by three overlapping but usefully different types of context. When someone says,

(1) *There is two men outside,

the use of <u>is</u>, precludes the possibility of a plural noun following. The <u>verbal context</u>, "there is..." constrains the verbal elements which may follow.

A different kind of contextual restriction is violated if we say,

(2) That is a book,

when the object indicated is actually a table, or if we say,

(3) The glass is on the table,

when it is in fact on the floor. Or, suppose someone says,

(4) I am a doctor of medicine,

when it is actually the person spoken to who is the physician. Examples (2-4) indicate violations of what we might call extra-linguistic object context. It is this sort of context which we usually think of in speaking of pragmatics. This kind of context, whether present or inferred (as when I say, "I read the book yesterday,"), exerts a great deal of control over what we say by virtue of the fact that there are widely agreed upon rules which govern how objects and object situations can be referred to in a given language.

There is yet another type of context of a slightly different and I think still more abstract sort. If I were to come up to you on a busy street and out of the clear blue sky utter the Pythagorean theorem, or the Gettysburg Address, or even my own address without the proper introductions having been made, you would think me odd.[2] Or, to give another example, if an employee in certain instances were to begin to tell his employer how to run the business, the former might well find himself out of a job. For the kind of constraints illustrated in these last examples, I suggest the term relationship context.[3]

On meeting a stranger, rather than reciting the "Night Before Christmas" we usually introduce ourselves. Even when we meet a good friend we often fill each other in on recent happenings, where we are going, etc. Just any old grammatical utterance is hardly ever appropriate to the relationship aspect of our language use. Whether you tell your friend that there is a pretty girl smiling at him or a crouching tiger about to pounce on him, you implicitly convey the relationship message, "I say, old boy, I think you may be interested in my telling you this." Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson (1967) have argued that for practical purposes every human message has a "content" and a "relationship" aspect. In his discussion of deixis, Fillmore (PCCLLU) was more concerned with the content of sentences--i.e. their appropriateness to extra-linguistic object context. Sugita (PCCLLU) has emphasized the need for also considering the relationship aspect of messages often reflected in the use of polite versus familiar terms, etc.--i.e. the appropriateness of messages to the relationship context.

All three types of context are important in the learning, perception, and production of language. In fact, on the basis of evidence which I will present below, I suggest that the information which can be made available to the learner by providing him with the naturally rich and informative contexts of realistic language communication, is easily the most important factor to be considered in foreign language program design. This point is certainly not entirely new,[4] but it is often neglected in the theory and practice of foreign language teaching.[5]

As has long been known, it is the nature of the human rational mechanism to categorize elements of experience and thought on the basis of perceptual and conceptual similarities. In order for the mind to accomplish this organization, it is important that similar elements which are not identical be sufficiently differentiated so that they are not incorrectly treated as the same. The experiments cited in my earlier paper show that if the brain is required to process very similar items at nearly the same time, the stored representations of the different objects may tend to coalesce, yielding interference, confusion, and error. This sort of problem may arise at any time and at any level during the course of learning, perceiving, or producing verbal (or other) items.

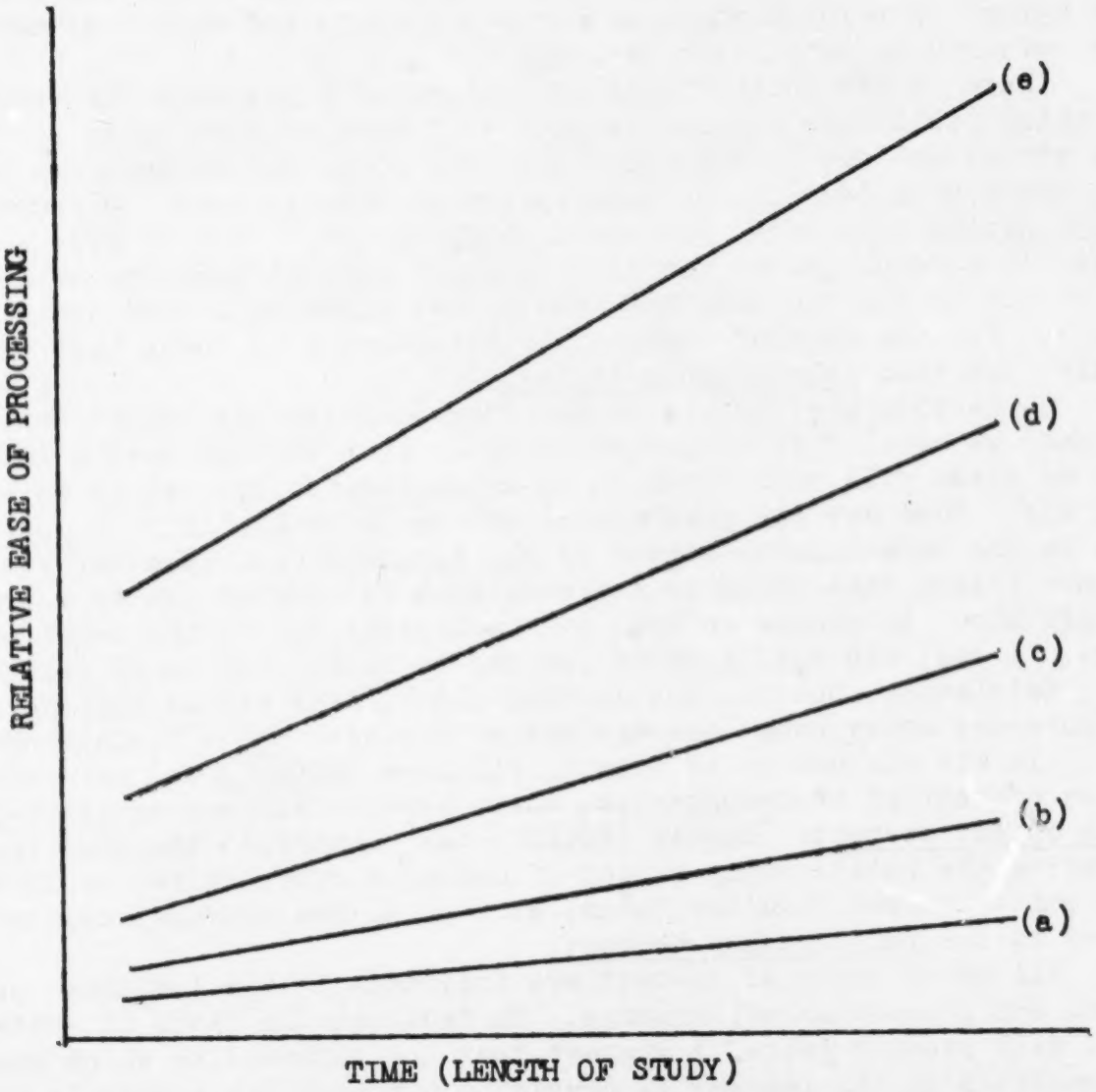

Figure 1. A schematic plotting of ease of processing against degree of organization of verbal material.

The important question is, "how can we enhance the organization and storage of information in memory while averting confusions among similar items?" It has been suggested that contextual differentiation is the key to solving this problem. Below I will try to show why I think that organizing foreign language materials on the basis of fully meaningful communicative events is preferable to any less integrated basis of program design. One of the natural consequences of such an approach is contextual differentation of similar forms. The proposal that semantic, pragmatic, and social context be incorporated into foreign language materials can be supported indirectly by a vast body of rapidly accumulating data in experimental psychology and psycholinguistics. Although much of this research may be unfamiliar, it seems to me that its consequences have not been given sufficient consideration by applied linguists.

In determining a progression of FL structures from the simple to the complex it is sometimes assumed that syntactic and phonological criteria are the best basis for defining difficulty. This inevitably leads to the development of instructional programs where totally disconnected sentences are strung together to illustrate points of grammar. Or, worse yet, the textbook author is encouraged to construct dialogues like the following which would be quite unlikely in the real world:

Speaker A: Are you busy?
B: Yes, I am busy.
A: Are you tall?
B: No, I am short.
A: Are you hungry?
B: Yes, I am hungry.

etc. The problem with such sequences is that, in the name of simplicity, they violate near universal contextual constraints. This, I suggest, unnecessarily complicates the task of the learner. It has been demonstrated that (I) verbal processing (whether we are speaking of perception, production, or learning) is facilitated by organization. More importantly, it has been shown repeatedly that (II) as organization increases, facilitation increases almost exponentially. And what is still more important, (III) as the length of the study period increases, the difference in facilitating effect between low levels of organization and higher ones accelerates. Figure 1 illustrates these facts.

If subjects are required to learn pronunceable nonsense, their learning curve might be represented as shown in line (a). If the items are meaningful words, the learning curve would begin at a higher point and subjects would improve faster as in (b). With each higher level, learning is facilitated still more, and the difference between levels in terms of the amount learned accelerates in time.

In other words, we may expect purely phonological organization - i.e. conformance with the syllable structure of a language - to facilitate processing but not as much as syntactic grouping of word-size units into phrases, etc. If the syntactically organized sequences are semantically structured, their processing is still further enhanced. Though it is not always possible to distinguish these levels of organization because of their nearly universal and necessary interaction, in certain cases it is possible to do so, and the results indicate that the effects on verbal processing become progressively greater proceeding up the scale. This implies that organization at the level of pragmatics is apt to be even more important than integration at lower levels.

There are several major factors which are usually considered in an attempt to define "difficulty" in human information-processing problems. Among them are time available, and the complexity and frequency of the input.[6] This is true for auditory or visual processing, and for short- or long-term storage. Without question, the most important device for overcoming these limitations in order to handle more and more complex patterns and concepts is organization. We organize and systematize and are thus enabled to predict. A natural language is a kind of abbreviatory organizational system. Its elements are structured to the point of redundancy. Whether we are speaking of sounds, syllables, words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs, etc., what follows in a sequence of them in normal usage is <u>always</u> partly predictable from what has preceded. This fact has profound effects on the perception, production and learning of language, and I believe it has powerful implications for a foreign language instructional program. I will refer briefly to some of the experimental studies which demonstrate the importance of predictability in the monolingual situation, and then I will refer to some experiments which deal with second language learning.

The importance of predictability to the visual perception of verbal sequences has been well established. As early as 1917, it had been demonstrated that expectancies influence the perception of sequences of letters tachistoscopically exposed (cf. Wilkins, 1917 as cited by Cherry, 1966). By 1927 Jakob Hoffman had shown that consonants presented visually for brief durations were more difficult to perceive than pronounceable nonsense syllables, which were in turn more difficult than low frequency words, which themselves were more difficult to recognize than high frequency words. Perhaps still more interestingly, he found that the difference between levels of organization increased progressing up the scale (see Figure 1), and that these differences accelerated as the age of the subjects tested increased (cf. Gibson, et al, 1962). This supports the conclusion that higher levels of structure contribute more to our capacity to handle information than do lower levels, and that the facilitating effect of greater organization increases with time. As we shall see, this hypothesis is sustained in further experimentation. Also, using the tachistoscopic technique, Miller, Bruner, and Postman (1954) found that the number of letters recognized in a sequence increased with greater approximation to English. At higher levels of integration, Morton (1964) has shown that meaningful context reduces the threshold of perception for words tachistoscopically displayed. He attributed this to greater predictability of the words in context. Contextual constraints across sentences have also been shown to improve recognition. Elmo Miller (1956) presented the same set of sentences for brief durations in a meaningful story-sequence and also in random order. Subjects performed better when the sentences were meaningfully connected.

All of the experiments mentioned so far deal with the visual modality of presentation. However, similar results have been attained in studies of auditory perception. Miller, Heise, and Lichten (1951) presented nonsense syllables, words in sentence contexts, and sequences of digits all under varying ratios of signal-to-noise and found that intelligibility improved progressively with increasing predictability. O'Neill (1957) resubstantiated the conclusion that words in sentences were more intelligible than words in isolation. In a study of the effect of sentence-topic awareness on auditory perception, Bruce (1958)

found that prior specification of context increases accuracy whereas incorrect specification lessens it. In a recall experiement with auditorily presented material Miller and Selfridge (1950) found that the recollection of sequences of words improved with greater approximation to English prose. With an improvement on their method of determining degree of approximation to English and of measuring recall, Coleman (1963) found that not only are sequences which are closer to normal English recalled more readily, but there is a greater proportional advantage at higher levels of organization.[7] This finding supports the hypothesis derived from Hoffman's study mentioned earlier. High level organization facilitates information processing more than low level structure.

Studies of the effects of predictability in learning experiments have produced results strikingly similar to those achieved in research on perception. Rubenstein and Aborn (1954) showed that the learning of nonsense syllables is enhanced by increasing degrees of rule-governed organization. The most difficult sequences to learn were the least organized ones. Moreover, they resubstantiated the conclusion (Hoffman, 1927, and Coleman, 1963) that the differences between the amount of learning at low and high levels of organization is greater at the higher levels and tends to accelerate with an increase in the length of the study period.

A facilitating effect of imposed syntactic structure on sequences of nonsense syllables has been documented by Osgood (1955) in a study done by one of his students (Mr. Swanson). Epstein (1961, 1962) has replicated this finding. These data suggest that the organization of verbal elements into larger chunks improves learning in spite of the dual problem that the chunks cannot be said to have precise meaning, and that the additional syntactic units actually increase the length of the sequences to be learned. In a now classic paper, Miller (1956) hypothesized that this "chunking" or "recoding" process facilitates perception and learning by enabling the memory system to function with a lesser number of units at a given time.

By using word lists, anagram strings of sentences, anomalous sentences, and normal sentences, all composed of the same set of words, Marks and Miller (1964) found that memorization was easiest for normal sentences, next for anomalous sentences, then anagram sentences, and finally word lists.[8] Moreover, the differences between different levels of approximation to normal English was progressively larger with increasing closeness to English, and tended to accelerate on successive trials.[9]

The basic findings of the experiments in speech perception and verbal learning discussed to this point have been replicated in studies of speech production. Salzinger, Portnoy and Feldman (1962) found that as sequences increase in approximation to the statistical structure of English they are produced more easily.

Investigation of the effect of pragmatic structure on learning is implicit in many of the studies mentioned above. Although, studies of pragmatic structure per se have been few in number, those which have been done tend to support the thesis that I have advanced today. Wason (1965) found that when subjects were presented with a picture of one blue circle among seven red ones, it was easier for them to produce or understand the probable negation "One circle is not red" than it was to produce or understand the less probable response "Seven circles are not blue." Because we tend to notice the exceptional, it is only natural

that we should comment on it rather than on the nonexceptional.[10] Deeper universal relationships are bound to exist and can be expected to have profound effects on learning.

Many other studies could be mentioned here, but it is already abundantly clear that an increase in the degree of predictability of verbal elements enhances our capacity to process them. This fact was noted clear back in 1908 by Titchener (as cited in Norman (1969, pp. 12-13):

> The stimulus for which we are predisposed requires less time to produce its full conscious effect than a like stimulus for which we are unprepared.

I believe that the facilitating effect of correct expectancies is easily the most important factor to be considered in the definition of difficulty in second language acquisition. The complexity of a stimulus pattern within a given level of organization is also important, but experimental results suggest that it is much less so (cf. Taylor, 1969). If the verbal units of a sequence which have already been processed arouse correct expectations as to what will follow (even though these anticipations may be quite general in nature), a positive facilitating effect is observed. I would like to think of this as a kind of high level induction in which experience from prior similar contexts transfers to the current one. In sequences which do not conform to prior experience, this facilitating effect is absent, and processing is more difficult. An actual <u>negative</u> effect causing an increase in difficulty may be brought about if expectations concerning what is to follow in a given sequence are false. The anticipated signal interferes with the received stimulus and processing is impaired. Negative transfer can also occur in situations where distinct stimuli are inadequately differentiated from the learner's point of view. If his attention is drawn only to similarities among the stimulus events, the innate principle of induction will automatically lead to incorrect intersubstitutions of those stimuli.

All of the foregoing has substantial implications for the design of programs for teaching foreign languages. For one, it suggests that the organization of teaching materials according to syntactic criteria alone is unwise.[11] Richards (1970) has shown that such organization can and does lead to numerous intra-lingual confusions of syntactic patterns, and as I have pointed out earlier this week, this is precisely what we should expect on the basis of known learning principles (cf. my earlier paper, this volume). Richards suggests, and I think correctly, that such confusions could probably be avoided by natural contextual differentiation. A related implication is that the use of syntactic criteria as the primary basis for defining difficulty and establishing a progression from the simple to the complex is misguided. Syntax, contrary to much of current theorizing in linguistics and practice in foreign language teaching, though important, is not the central feature of language, and it is naive to make it the main focus of language learning.

Foreign language materials should take full advantage of the facilitating effects of semantic and pragmatic contexts. Strings of artificial sentences which are totally unrelated from a meaningful point of view, as Jespersen (1904) has argued, ought never to be used. Paradigmatic contrasts (pattern drills) should be done at the level of pragmatic differentiation. Obrecht and I (1968) have demonstrated that

even in a twenty-minute session with subjects who have previously had no experience with the language in question, there is significant improvement if pragmatic contrasts are made available to the student. In a further study (1969), under similar limitations, we found that contextual constraints across sentences also improve learning. In view of the findings of experiments discussed earlier, the superiority of learning with maximally meaningful materials could be expected to increase significantly over longer-term exposure (see Figure 1 and its discussion). In other words, materials which utilize semantic and pragmatic information as a basis for organization (in addition to syntactic and phonological criteria) are apt to be far more successful in the long run than materials based nearly exclusively on syntactic considerations (e.g. Rand 1969a, 1969b).

Research into the relative utility of various methods for structuring language programs has been extremely sparse for a number of reasons, the most important of which is that experimentation here is quite complex due to the number of variables the researcher must contend with (cf. Jakobovitz, 1970). However, several of the experiments discussed here have shown that differences which exist at early stages of learning tend to accelerate with the length of the study period. Although it may in some cases be impossible to maintain control of crucial variables in long-range longitudinal studies of learning (a propos to the now classic Scherer and Wertheimer experiment, 1964) short experiments in which it <u>is</u> possible to maintain control of crucial variables may be extremely useful despite their limitations.

Currently available data on speech perception, production, and learning in classical and innovative experimental paradigms affirm the conclusions that processing of verbally coded information is facilitated by increasing organization; that higher levels of organization have a greater facilitating effect; and that the difference between the facilitating effect of low and high levels of organization increases as the length of the study period increases. All of the above taken together with the sparse data available from second language learning studies suggest the hypothesis that the acquisition of a grammatical system will proceed with maximum efficiency (all other things being equal) where the richest sort of contextual information is made available to the learner. Artificiality of language, context, or practice in the classroom, can be expected to retard learning to the extent that it violates the learner's previously acquired expectations. Optimal interlanguage transfer can be expected in situations where previously acquired expectations are sustained.

NOTES

*Paper presented at the Pacific Conference on Contrastive Linguistics and Language Universals (PCCLLU), January, 1971, Honolulu, Hawaii.

[1]I want to thank Clifford H. Prator for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Of course, any errors and the judgments expressed are my own.

[2]In fact I am sure that even Professor Fillmore would think me strange in such a case, regardless of what he has said concerning the lack of relevance of context to analytic statements.

[3]Although the term social context suggests itself, I think its connotations are unnecessarily broad.

[4]Cf. Jespersen (1904) and more recently Prator (1964).

[5]For examples of language materials which take little if any notice of this fundamental principle, see Rutherford (1968) and Rand (1969a, 1969b). All three of the texts cited collect disjointed sentences with the aim of illustrating points of grammar. There is little or no attempt to relate these sentences to meaningful and realistic communication, nor is it likely that there could be. Consider the enormous difficulty of finding a plausible communicative situation which might contain sentences like,

(1) "A certain four people are possible candidates, and Dick is one of those same four people."

(2) "A great many teachers try to apply Dewey's ideas, and Charlotte is one of those same great many people" (Rand, 1969b, 54).

Even the suggested transforms of these questionable sentences would be difficult to put together in a plausible situation.

(1) "Dick is one of the four people who are possible condidates."

(2) "Charlotte is one of the many teachers who try to apply Dewey's ideas" (Rand, 1969b, 54).

The problem is in actuality far more difficult as there are nine sentences in the drill taken as an example, and there is page after page of such drills.

[6]It can readily be seen that familiarity of stimuli, is definable in terms of time available for study and frequency of input.

[7]Coleman's results controverted one of the conclusions of Miller and Selfridge (1950) along with various replications of that experiment, cf. Sharp (1958), Postman and Adams (1960), Richardson and Voss (1960). Specifically, Coleman demonstrated that there is no apparent ceiling on the effect of contextual facilitation. Long-range semantic and pragmatic relationships are even more important than short-range ones. Due to their method of measuring recall, Miller and Selfridge, incorrectly concluded that contextual constraints beyond five or six words had no significant facilitating effect. Coleman's findings substantiated those of Marks and Jack (1952) who used his method of measuring recall.

[8]These differences were found by counting the median per cent of correct complete strings. A measure of total-words-correct failed to detect the difference in organization between anagrams and anomalous sentences. (Cf. Coleman, 1963, on such methods of measurement).

[9]In the sentences of the Marks-Miller study, semantic congruence seemed to make a much greater contribution to facilitation of learning than did syntactic organization. However, this cannot be securely ascertained because of the possible interfering factor of anomaly. It should be interesting to compare non-anomalous grammatical sequences of Jobberwocky-style with fully meaningful grammatical sentences of comparable length, etc. In this way one might estimate the relative importance of semantic and syntactic organization to learning.

[10]Pragmatic interactions of a different type have been demonstrated by Oller and Sales (1969). The effect of coding strategies for place specifiers in a second language learning situation is currently under investigation.

[11]Cf. Wolfe, Hadlich, and Inman (1963) for an example of this. Less extreme cases could be cited by the gross. For an example of materials which utilize the notion of predictability as I have defined it here, cf. Oller (1963-5).

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PROBLEMS IN ESL AND TESL AT UCLA:

A SEMINAR REPORT

John W. Oller, Jr.

This paper is a summary from one person's viewpoint of what took place during the Winter Quarter of 1970-71, in the 596K Seminar on problems in the ESL and TESL programs at UCLA. What is written here represents little more than a collection of poor afterimages of a whole series of question-raising and problem-solving sessions that were often enthusiastic, occasionally argumentative, frequently bewildering, but never boring.[1]

The possibility of such a seminar was first proposed in the fall of 1969, when the teaching assistants for ESL and some of the faculty members--particularly, Professors Hatch, McIntosh, and Prator--being keenly aware of the pressing need for better ESL course coordination and the desirability of more clearly defining our entire ESL course structure in terms of succinctly stated performance objectives, began to consider simply bringing the ESL teachers in our program together to exchange ideas on a regular basis. Out of this initial interest, the 596K Seminar was eventually constituted. Its aim was to provide a time and place for the fomenting of new and old ideas in the hope of enriching the teaching and learning experiences of those of us who are blessed either directly or indirectly with ESL teaching responsibilities. A three-member faculty committee, chaired by Professor McIntosh, on which Professor Hatch and I were members was also set up almost simultaneously as a result of a unanimous faculty response to the need for a re-evaluation of our ESL instruction.

I know that I speak for both the faculty committee and the graduate students who participated in the seminar when I say that it is our sincere hope that an atmosphere which welcomes open, constructive and critical evaluation can be established and maintained in our department. We would like to encourage the attitude that a problem-solving approach is a necessity in a program that seeks improvement and strives for it through perpetual, honest self-evaluation. We are also agreed, I believe, that the greatest potential for the upgrading of our ESL instruction lies in the tremendous, largely untapped resource of graduate students who participate in our TESL program. Scores of them are more than ready and willing but are rarely if ever called on to assist in the ESL instruction going on all the time right here at UCLA. (Graduate students who serve as teaching assistants are an exception here, but they constitute a very small part of the available work-force.) We believe that the involvement of candidates for the TESL Certificate in our own ESL program, on a regular basis with careful supervision and course credit, is the key to solving our manpower problems. But more than that, it is the only apparently feasible basis for freeing our minds of the unhealthy schizophrenia entailed by having some TESL courses for theory and others for practice with little or no clear

connection between them. In short, the better utilization of TESL Certificate people will not only greatly benefit the foreign students in our ESL courses, but will provide the graduate students in TESL as well with an invaluable enrichment experience.

The concern that the members of the seminar felt and continue to feel for the problems of ESL teaching is enlivened by the day-to-day challenge that some of us are privileged to meet standing in front of rooms full of foreign students who are investing a significant amount of time and money in instruction in English. Coupled with our courses in TESL, this routine of facing the foreign students puts us in an almost schizophrenic mode of operation. One day we are transformational theoreticians and contrastive analysts, and the next we are practicing teachers. The valuable practical experience that we derive from our actual ESL teaching is so remotely related to some of the theoretical concepts that we are programming our minds to process in some of our TESL courses that we find ourselves almost in the dilemma of Buridan's ass. There are two haystacks to eat from (one of theory and the other of practice) and we are in between debating which way to turn. Buridan's donkey, as you probably know, starved to death. We hope to avoid such a fate. In order to do so, however, it seems that we will have to divorce ourselves from theories that have nice theoretical applications but few if any practical ones (cf. the discussion of contrastive analysis in "Difficulty and Predictability" in this volume).

What we need to do is to stop talking so much about theories that have few if any clear practical applications and to begin to develop a theory of second-language learning that we can use in the ESL as well as in the TESL classroom. Now! Even if it turns out to be more wrong than right at the outset, in both the short-run and the long-run we have nothing to lose and much to gain. We must begin, however, by admitting the all-to-evident though often apparently unnoticed fact that contractive analysis and transformational grammar look a lot better on TESL course syllabuses than on blackboards in ESL classrooms where the teacher meets the students.

As Professor Bull has put it in a discussion with the participants of the 596K Seminar, most linguists and applied linguists have been "married to sentence patterns." (Professor Bull kindly assented to a visit with us at the invitation of Robert Weissberg.) He thinks it is time we got a divorce, and many of us agree. Sentence patterns should be put in their place--back in communicative contexts where they belong. People may speak in structures, but they are not the variety that neatly fit into transformational drills. They function well, however, in <u>communication</u> and it seems that an adequate theory of <u>this</u> kind of language use is what we should be aiming for (cf. Oller, 1971).

Professor Pucciani, Chairman of the French Department of UCLA, and Miss Hamel who collaborated in the writing of the widely used French program <u>Langue et Langage</u> (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967) also were kind enough to visit our seminar at the invitation of Jane Marks, who was a former student in the French program and is a living testimony to its

effectiveness. She even speaks French. These well-reputed authors concurred that the only way to teach a person to speak in a language other than his native language is by creating in him a need to communicate and by providing him with the means for doing so in the target language. There is a kindred spirit between what Bull, Pucciani and Hamel had to say in the 596K Seminar and the frequently quoted paper by Professor Prator (1964) where it is prophesied that what were then still becoming increasingly popular notions--namely, transformationalism and programmed learning--would both be survived by the more homely and less marketable concept of language as a medium of communication. Perhaps the focal point of the seminar might best be identified as an increasing doubt concerning the usefulness of structured lessons that rely on a progression from simple declarative sentences in ordered fashion to questions, to complex right- and left-branching clauses, to center-imbedded-subordinate-relative clauses, etc., etc. The question which continually arose to fall and rise again in another form was, is it necessary to structure lessons on the basis of structures in the sense of syntax, or is it not just as efficient (if not more so) to structure them by content--much the way reading materials are sequenced at the elementary and high school levels?

In fact what many of the participants would probably agree was our most exciting and controversial session concerned the possibility raised by Tamar Goldman of using the highly successful programmed reading materials published by Science Research Associates, Inc. These programmed lessons are designed to give the student practice in reading at his own level. They consist of short passages with exercises and comprehension questions intended to improve both speed and understanding.

Mrs. Goldman had used these materials in her intermediate ESL (33A) class in the fall of 1970-71 with good results. For one thing, the use of programmed reading materials relieves some of the strain on the teacher which is due to the inevitably wide range of abilities of students at any of our four course-levels. The diversity in reading skills is accommodated in the programmed materials and this frees the teacher to deal more carefully with other problems. If we were able to use the SRA materials at all levels, this might enable us to concentrate on listening-speaking skills in our placement process thus reducing the heterogeneity of classes in these skills. The student could then work at his own rate in reading improvement through the programmed materials.

The objections to the possibility of this kind of revision in our program were of two kinds. For one, it was argued that perhaps we should be doing just the opposite. Instead of having students take a programmed course in reading, which is probably the most important skill for success in college-level work, it might be better to try to conceive a system for placing students in more homogeneous groups according to reading competence and to take care of the speaking listening skills via a programmed course of study. Professor Bull mentioned in his visit that Mark Gold, one of our TESL M.A. candidates, is doing a thesis on the application of Bull's own theory of language and programmed language instruction to the teaching of ESL.

The possibility of aural-oral programmed materials for aural-oral skills had been suggested earlier by professor Prator (personal communication).

A second objection was raised by Professor McIntosh, who pointed out the fact that there was little if any graded sequencing of syntactic structures used in the SRA materials. As coordinator of the teaching assistants for ESL, however, Professor McIntosh agreed to an experimental trial of these materials with careful controls to determine whether or not they produce good results. In her words, if they seem to "work effectively," we can then begin to consider using them on a wider basis but not until then. It was agreed that this was not only a reasonable requirement but is in fact the only sound basis for using any technique or materials in the classroom. We must be committed to a ruthless sort of pragmatism. The experimental use of the SRA materials is being done by Judy Schroeder and Diane Battung.

Perhaps the greatest single difficulty in any discussion concerning what materials to use in our courses and how to implement them is the yet unanswered theoretical question of what precisely we are attempting to teach the foreign students who are placed in our courses. In the hope of finding an answer to this question on which most of us could agree, Professor McIntosh in her capacity as chairman of the faculty committee designated to re-evaluate the ESL courses, sent out a letter requesting a statement from each member of the faculty concerning the following questions: "1. What objectives in terms of language achievement and proficiency should a foreign student meet in order to be excused from 33C [our advanced ESL course]? 2. Could you list the objectives you think should be present in 33C?"

To my knowledge Professor Prator is the only faculty member who took the time to sit down and write a carefully considered response to this question. His letter was read and discussed in the 596K Seminar and with his permission the body of it is included here.

> I can see no reason why the answers to the two questions about objectives that you asked in your circular note . . . should not be identical. My own answer to both would be something like "a mastery of English sufficient to permit the student to achieve his full potential in his academic work at UCLA."
>
> The actual degree of mastery needed and the linguistic elements that should be mastered presumably vary greatly from one disciplinary area to another. The best we can do, under the practical circumstances with which we are faced, is probably to try to strike a reasonable average.
>
> Obviously a foreign student at UCLA cannot achieve his full potential without having all four major language skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. If we consider these four skills as objectives, then each of the four can be divided up into an infinite number

of sub-objectives, sub-sub-objectives, etc., etc. Such a spinning out of objectives could be a fascinating verbal exercise, but I am not sure that it would be much more than a verbal exercise based on intuition.

It seems to me that the most profitable line of attack might be to say simply that the objective of 33C is to make a score of so-and-so on our examination. We could then work toward establishing the correlation between exam scores and students' success in achieving their academic goals. By a detailed comparison of what the exam measures and what is taught in the course, we could possibly make the two coverages coincide much more closely than at present.

If we must formulate detailed objectives, I think we should formulate them <u>in linguistic terms</u>. In 832 students should learn to hear and produce the phonological distinctions that carry meaning in English. By the end of 33A they should be able to use orally a certain enumerated range of basic sentences and transformations. By the end of 33C they should be able to read their texts with a stated degree of comprehension and at a stated rate of speed. Writing also in 33C. Understanding lectures in 33B perhaps.

I doubt that we have anything to gain by worrying too much about covering a whole range of <u>functional skills</u> such as taking out a book from the library, writing a business letter, footnoting a term paper, using a dictionary, writing an ad for the Daily Bruin, writing a thank-you letter, etc. etc., etc.

Much discussion was centered around the fourth paragraph where it is suggested that the ESL Placement Examination might be used as a kind of "criterion reference" for deciding when a student had sufficient skill in ESL to be exempted from further study. All of us agreed that the criterion score should be one which would indicate sufficient skill to allow the student to "achieve his full potential" in his regular course of study at UCLA. It remained only to determine what the criterion score should be. This obviously is not an easy task, however. What we evidently need is some pragmatic basis for saying when a native speaker of English is prepared to achieve his full potential. As Suzanne Buker, Janet Fisher and other participants in the seminar noted, it is the task of linguistics to describe native competence. As someone quickly pointed out, however, linguists are so far from agreement even on how to attempt this, that there seems little hope of a settlement of the native speaker competence issue in our lifetimes let alone this school year--and we have to teach class today!

The question that immediately arises is: What <u>ob</u>jective (or for that matter <u>sub</u>jective) measures of linguistic competence could conceivably be used to determine when a student has achieved near native ability? As soon as suggestions begin to come forth, it becomes apparent that the tests

themselves are always associated with one or more of the traditional four skills, which raises another question: Should we rely on a test of a single skill? A test of several skills? A battery of tests? We must decide whether a demonstration of oral proficiency, or of listening comprehension, or reading, or composition, or some combination of these is sufficient. Most of the teaching assistants agreed that reading is the most necessary skill for success in college-level work, yet ironically all admitted that they devote considerably more time to the teaching of oral-aural skills with concentration on grammatical structures. Less than a page of an eight-page syllabus for 832 is devoted to reading skills; in the syllabus for 33A reading receives one page out of six; for 33B, about one out of five; and for 33C, one of six. By contrast, exactly half of the points on the ESLPE are allotted to reading comprehension. This fact might explain some of the difficulties regarding the range of abilities in speaking and listening skills among students placed in our courses since it is easily demonstrated that a student with a high reading comprehension score may be weak in oral-aural skills.

A propos to the matter of teaching reading, a study is now under way by Jack Street (one of the participants in the seminar) to attempt to determine (among other things) how closely the level of difficulty of the advanced reading materials used in our 33C courses approximates that of college-level textbooks in general. Clearly, if one of our objectives is near-native reading competence, our texts and classroom practices should reflect this.

As for testing and grading, it was suggested that it should be a relatively simple matter to set up a criterion reference test of reading comprehension, for example, normed on a representative group of native speakers here at UCLA. The same might be done for each of the other skills, provided we can agree on exactly what we want the tests to measure. The possibility of clearly defining different performance objectives at the different course levels (832-33C) in terms of the relative emphasis placed on the various skills was raised, but no agreement was reached.

The main difficulty that arises once performance criteria for graduation from courses are established is that our classroom teaching will have to achieve these goals. Grading practices would have to be standardized, and judiciously adhered to. One of the sticky wickets of our past experience has been that teaching assistants who sometimes feel that a student has been misplaced at too high a level by the ESLPE still insist on passing that student on to the bewildered teaching assistant at the next higher level with a grade of A or B rather than to "penalize" the student by holding him back where according to their own judgment he belongs. The whole matter of grading policy would have to become a public issue (along with all of the usual bureaucratic dangers that any kind of centralization inevitably engenders). In spite of these problems, and other objections which no doubt are yet to come up, a criterion-reference program of study with standardized final examinations seems to be a desirable and realistic aim provided we can settle the basic issues of what skills, precisely, we are trying to teach, and how these should be weighted relative to one another.

In order to progress toward this objective, further open discussion-type seminars involving both key faculty and the teaching assistants seem essential. Unfortunately, there are some administrative technicalities which may prevent such seminars from being held. Although Professor Hatch graciously, indeed enthusiastically, agreed to continue the 596K Seminar during the Spring Quarter of 1970-71, there is at present no course offering under the auspices of which an additional seminar can be offered for credit. And, without credit, the teaching assistants are in no position to consider taking it by voluntarily sacrificing their time in view of their current work-load.

Among the other important issues which were considered during the Winter Quarter both by members of the faculty and by the students in the seminar, was the question of machinery to bring TESL Certificate people into contact with foreign students for their mutual benefit. It was noted that the 103K course, Phonetics for TESL, offered in conjunction with 103J, Phonetics for Foreign Students, provides an excellent possibility for utilizing native speakers in 103K as tutors to enhance the learning of non-natives in 103K and 103J. The same sort of arrangement is possible for 106K, Composition for TESL and 106J, Advanced Composition for Foreign Students. Consider the improvement in terms of individual attention to specific recurrent problems in writing where a tutor has four or five non-native speakers of a single language background instead of a single instructor having 25-30 students from a great variety of language backgrounds.

Another possibility is to set up projects for TESL students in our core courses which would enable them to have practical experience in teaching ESL in an idealized situation (a ratio of 1/1 or say 1/5 at the most). Professor McIntosh suggested the possibility of allowing students in the Contrastive Analysis Course (250K) the option of doing a project where they would work with one or more of the foreign students in some ESL course. Professor Prator had suggested this possibility as well. The consensus of the teaching assistants however, was that the tutoring of foreign students should be done on a wide-scale by all native speakers in the program under careful supervision. It is highly unlikely that students many of whom are already well-burdened if not over-loaded with course work will voluntarily take on extra tutoring projects. Such a program could not be expected to succeed on a sacrificial basis--nor should it have to if this kind of practical experience can be built into existing required courses--and we believe that it can.

Again, continued planning and discussion involving faculty and teaching assistants--possibly also regular ESL students--is necessary. Nor can this be expected to occur on a sacrifice and volunteer basis--course credit will have to be given. This report is submitted in the confidence that the TESL and ESL programs at UCLA if more systematically integrated--and this will require some creative changes--can begin to become the model programs that we would like them to be.

NOTES

[1]The participants in the seminar included the following graduate students and teaching assistants in TESL: Diane Battung, Suzanne Buker, Tamar Goldman, Nevin Inal, Harriet Kirn, Jane Marks, Judy Schroeder, Robert Weissberg, and Jack Street. The written reports by students varied from a discussion of an experimental project on pronunciation by Jack Street to a two-hundred-page reference work on media available to the ESL teacher from various sources by Diane Battung. Suzanne Buker also contributed a thirty-four page effort suggesting a total revision of the TESL and ESL programs. Janet Fisher did a monumental research project on reading comprehension at the various course levels. I mention all of this to point up the fact that this was not a snap course where everyone just sat around and talked a lot. A great deal of preparation and work was done.

We especially want to thank Professors McIntosh and Hatch for attending and contributing to several of our sessions. We are also grateful to Professors Bull (Spanish Department), Pucciani and Hamel (French Department) for their inspiring sessions. These guests were invited by Robert Weissberg and Jane Marks. We also want to thank Tamar Goldman for her efforts in arranging for a meeting with a special representative from the SRA group. For anyone who may wish to consult them, the seminar papers are on file in the main English office. I personally want to thank Jane Marks who was kind enough to prepare, in addition to her written project on Interaction Analysis, notes on each meeting, and a final summary which was most helpful to me in preparing this report. I am also grateful for the helpful comments of Professors Russell Campbell and Clifford Prator, as well as Teaching Assistants Diane Battung and Suzanne Buker on an earlier draft of this paper. Of course, I alone must take credit for the opinions expressed and any errors contained in this report. Finally, I want to express my sincere gratitude to all those who helped make the 596K Seminar, at least for me, one of the most profitable experiences of the year.

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COCKNEYS AND COCKNEY RHYMING SLANG: SOME UNSCIENTIFIC BUT AFFECTIONATE OBSERVATIONS FROM THE NOTEBOOK OF A SABBATICAL TRAVELLER.

By John Povey
ESL UCLA

Foreigners use the term "cockney" quite indiscriminately to refer to all Londoners and to the extent that they imply the working-class functionaries often met by tourists--cab drivers, bus conductors, doorkeepers, newspaper vendors and porters, they are probably right. Nevertheless, the cockneys are a very particular group and cherish the individuality of their cultural and linguistic separation against the usual variety of contemporary pressures towards conformity.

A cockney is, by definition, a person who was born "within the sound of Bow Bells"--the carillon of the Anglican Church of St. Mary at Bow in the center of East London, recalled amongst other bells in the famous "Oranges and Lemons" song. Less authentic elements of the tribe--a generation or so removed from these spiritual roots practice similar life-styles. They inhabit the other areas of East London and even extend into such poorer southeastern regions as Deptford and New Cross. It is a very non-touristy locale rarely visited by outsiders except for the occasional organized safaris to the fashionably maintained squalor of the old smugglers' pub "The Bunch of Grapes" along the river Thames at the Isle of Dogs--a resort no longer, of course, frequented by cockneys.

In spite of educational opportunities, cockneys tend to remain working class across generations, or more accurately, cease to be recognizably cockney when they do not maintain working-class customs and languages. There are occasional tales of cockney millionaires deriving their profits from an extensive chain of fish and chip shops and the like, but they are reported as novelties. Cockney labor is still heavily associated with the docks rather than industry. Dock labor is casual but now relatively high priced, even if one discounts scare tales of the "they even take home more than us" cries of the nonunion professional classes. But large pay raises have done little to alter the fundamental cultural patterns of regions such as this, as Hoggarth's study of the North England working classes confirmed (The Uses of Literacy). Increased money seems to create the urge for more of the same rather than different expenditures--life changing perhaps quantitively rather than qualitatively. More beer--not just on Saturdays, more faggots and saveloys, and ham for tea and the charms

of kippers no longer only the irregular treat of the optimistic old cockney song "when we are married we'll have kippers for tea." The ubiquitous fish and chip shops now add continental scampi to their offerings along with a "nice bit o' rock" (saimon) and quarters of chicken vie with those virtually meatless beef pies of tradition. But the rigorous gastronomic custom of a heavy shake of vinegar is scrupulously remembered in the face of such culinary change.

Day trips to the coastal amenities of South End and Brighton become more common, less the memorable and isolated treat. But although travel to Spain is now financially possible, when enjoyed the tours tend to take cockney participants to hotels proffering somewhat oily variants of basic British cuisine--Spanish yorkshire pudding and a ghastly Iberian version of trifle. Cockney housing except for the new government-built apartment buildings changes little. The bombing like the much earlier great fire of London undertook some haphazard slum levelling but moving is rare. There is little upward mobility in real estate on the American model, partly perhaps because of the housing shortage and the incredibly advantageous cheap controlled rents and security of tenure offered by law to sitting tenants. This convenience sustains a sense of conservatism that deplores change and housing is not an area for conspicuous display, especially as change weaks one away from the convenience and habit of neighborly association which is still a significant part of the culture. Slum clearance destroyed some of these areas by replacing the daily contact and conviviality of neighborhoods with the frequently hated anonymity of large-scale apartment buildings subsidized by local government. These blocks of flats offer conditions of relative comfort but are despised. The changes in living habits they necessitate damage the carefully developed fabric of cockney life.

There are other enforced changes. The mechanical harvesting of the all-important hop crop in Kent has robbed the cockney of his long-established hop picking holidays which provided an embryonic and primitive form of a holiday camp and family wages to boot. More important loss derives from the lack of adequate substitute for such regular annual clan gatherings which reasserted a sense of ethnic identity and cultural affinity. It was the occasion for the children to learn all the old cockney songs in the manner of an African youth acquiring by memory the oral epic culture of his race. As a child, I recall seeing the costermonger's family in their delivery cart drawn by two carefully decorated ponies, off to the Kent hop fields for a week's picking. But the costermongers too are losing out. Regulations increasingly limit by license the permissible number of barrows. Their owners the "barrow boys" with their sharp repartee, their sleight of hand over making change and their shoddy fruit cunningly hidden behind the mound of perfectly ripe ones on the front of the barrow display, are less often seen. Like knife grinders and old clothes men with their cockney cries the need for their trade diminishes each

year. The markets are driven out or compressed under the urban clearance schemes and the response to the enlarging supermarkets. Petticoat Lane once a vital and real cockney market, is now visited on its Sunday morning openings by bus loads of tourists buying, of all things, imported brassware gifts from the stalls of recent Pakistani immigrants. Although you can still get those authentic if loathsome looking servings of jellied eels and little plates of cockles and welks from the stalls they have acquired an almost self-consciously novelty value. They compete with the more popular hot dog stands. And where now are the brewers of sarsaparilla--the cockneys' own wine?

The cockney king and queen still on occasion wear their "pearlies and feathers," when they visit 'Appy 'Amstead but they are depressingly apt to have their photographs taken by news cameramen when they do it--and such record is the kiss of death for the once vital custom. The man's festival costume is a suit and cap completely oversewn with small pearl shirt buttons, while the woman wears a maxi dress--roughly Edwardian in style and broad brimmed hat all stitched over and decorated with ostrich feathers. It was an expensive complicated and beautiful design now relegated to historic anthropology.

In a similar way the language that unites this cultural unit is under pressure from wide social change. But the language proves among the more determinedly resistant elements of cultural markers. Socially acceptable received speech is enforced as an homogenous accent out of the BBC (an accent, which although considered still snooty by the cockney in itself, is not identical with and Oxford accent). There is a recognition of the general norm yet the capacity of national media to apply linguistically unifying force upon speech patterns seems limited. Localisms maintain themselves tenaciously against the impress of the standard forms, though its deliberate retention is often accompanied in the individual by some version of biaccented speaking. The judgment of the appropriate formality of speech in such a case must include the hierarchical register of accent as well as the usual more careful control over vocabulary and structural complexity. It would be interesting to investigate the nature of local resilience under pressure, particularly the effect of the social escape valve provided by a permissible biaccent speech pattern. (I think bidialectical is a little strong a term to be applied to the degree of difference provided by the cockney English variant, although it phases towards this extreme in some areas and under certain conditions--it would certainly be unintelligible to any American speaker of English.)

The period of attack on local variants in England particularly in the socially substandard, so-called comic ones, like the accents of London or Lancashire in the name of educational improvement is largely past. In the post-Beatles and Rolling Stones pop culture world local and working-class accents and

origins have taken on some chic; become the subject of boast rather than shame. I notice how Michael Caine has become the first British actor to play a hero role with a deliberately cockney accent. Previously cockneys were reduced to playing the comic relief to serious upper-class actors whether it was in Shakespeare productions or the sidekick relationship of cockney privates to the upper-class accented officers of the John Mills ilk in all the war films from Britain--a continuing snobbery.

The cockney accent is restricted totally by class and almost entirely by region. It is a working-class accent and only the most nouveau of riche would retain it; financial upward mobility has in the past ended the accent within a generation, partly because of the contributing actual physical mobility of residence that substantial money permits and encourages. The accent may stretch geographically beyond the official cockney territory of Lambeth, Stepney and Hackney through migration but not far. Such migration, if it moves further than equivalent contiguous London regions, seems to have an understandably counter-effect on the cockney sounds. The accent of the isolated cockney speaker is changed into the new regional forms of speech within a generation. (There seems to be a key age at which accent can only be changed by deliberate decision and practice, early it seems a child is able to adapt almost instinctively.) Recent local migration has been engendered by slum clearance but in such cases it is expected that many of the families will be absorbed back into the same cultural--and linguistic--continuum on the completion of the new housing. More significant is the situation in those areas where groups are being driven out from neglected central London locations which are both architecturally desirable and conveniently situated. A recent example is the disruptive pressure of rising property values in an area suitable for arty redevelopment and renovation such as Islington with its fifty new antique shops and disappearing cockney speech. Such urban change is a phenomenon not unknown in U.S. eastern cities such as Boston and Philadelphia.

A specialist could undoubtedly discriminate amongst a variety of working-class London accents, though it is doubtful if that task could be undertaken with a flashy precision pretended by Bernard Shaw's Professor Higgins. But generally speaking to untrained and scientific observation,[1] the language is heard as a plaintive whine which is not, according to angry Australians, the least like the Sydney sounds of the "Austrine" language.[2] It is initially marked by a determined effort to make all the sounds of human speech with minimum muscular effort. As near as possible, articulation (rather than enunciation) is accomplished without any apparent movements of the speech organs: lips are held almost

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[1]For an authoritative formal analysis see Cockney Phonology, Eva SiverVse. Oslo U.P., 1960

[2]Compare Pronounciation of English in Australia, A.G. Mitchell. Sydney, 1947.

closed and appear not to shift position. Manipulation of the tongue is minimal and a constant swallowing of all the consonantal sounds reduces the local speech to a series of guttural noises without apparent vowels at all. There are several obvious characteristics that strike the attention of the uninitiated. The dropping of the initial 'h' is common, and occasionally the addition of an unrequired one intrudes rough compensation, making the forms (h)idea or (h)obvious. (Schoolchildren will actually spell out words like 'ead--an error unlikely to be found in American pupils.) Darkening of consonants is noticeable particularly the 't's and the 'l's so that words like bottle and cattle vanish into the larynx with only a bob of the Adam's apple to mark their departure. This habit requires students to perform compensatory vocal exercise through the recitation of rhymes like "Out among the fatted cattle/ tottered Mr. Britton's daughter." "Th" forms are changed to v or f eg., farver or fing. Most famous of the oddities is the continuing of certain vowels into limply extended quasi-diphthong forms, so that among similar such vowel variants 'rail' comes near to rhyming with 'isle' as all those "Australian" 'a's verge towards 'i's in such famous phrases as "The rine in Spine falls minely in the pline." The lack of measurable 'r's is so regular a feature of British speech that it could be wrong to classify it as characteristically London though the substitution of a 'w' for an 'r' is noticeably common.

These accent forms are found with some variations across areas of southern and eastern London, and are therefore the more severly eschewed in the north and west. But one of the most characteristic and specifically cockney linguistic forms, resides in vocabulary rather than phonology. It is the use of a series of slang terms that are dependent upon rhyme--the famous cockney rhyming slang. Although appropriated occasionally by others it is these terms rather than any accentual features that can be asserted to indicate authentic cockney speech for they constitute its hallmark. The vocabulary marks an essential element in cockney conversation, and probably could be proved, by deeper study, to be a revealing indication of many cockney cultural assumptions.

In cockney rhyming slang the intended word is masked by a substitute form rhyming with the original. This is always a dual word or short phrase without apparent direct association and linked only by the similarity of rhyme between the intended word and the last word of the slang phrase. The usage usually makes reference to the most common items within the culture, parts of the body, clothes, etc. There seems no rational explanation for this usage since rather than speed communication by reducing syllables it adds several to convey what is usually initially a monosyllabic word of Anglo-Saxon origin. (That origin would be expected, of course, granted that the more familiar words in English do not have Latin/French roots.) The form also adds what would appear to be pointless and irrelevant metaphoric

associations remote from the required word which one could imagine would hinder semantic comprehension too. "Plates of meat" means "feet". It doesn't do to visualize the implied simile too closely or the result is grotesque. The rhyming equivalent is always longer than the original. It is usually a phrase, an adjective plus a noun, or a pair of nouns linked by and. I observed no other variants. This variety of slang becomes more of a code in that the cockneys have an exasperating custom of dropping off the actual rhyming word in many cases leaving the residual term meaningless to the uninitiated who does not have the guideline of rhyme to hint at possible meaning. This suggests that the slang exists as an inner code to deny the cultural association of the outsider and to emphasize the tribal identity of this particular London group. Such terms as "Give me a butcher's," (a butcher's hook /rhyme/ look); "Use your loaf," (a loaf of bread /rhyme/ head); or "Have a cuppa Rosie," (Rosie Lea /rhyme/ tea) are terms as mysterious as they are common in south and east London.

Since I approached this whole topic in a casually unscientific manner I have undoubtably missed much. I would also suspect without proof that all but such key terms as I list here are dying out--at least becoming obsolescent. But I make no speculations let alone anything as grandiose as an hypothesis concerning this usage. Unless one is driven by a Germanic level of pedagogic compulsiveness, how scientific is it possible to be when one's linguistic fieldwork consists of study in the amiable environment of a British pub? In the cosy atmosphere of The Spotted Cow or The Crooked Billet one sips a "tot of finger and thumb" /rhyme/ rum and discusses the matter idly with several imbibers of pints of pig's ear /rhyme/ beer and the rhythm is remote from the normal stress of linguistic investigation. However, a few observations can be made along with the confident promise of deeper study to come in the attractive surroundings of this London hinterland. The "dash" of an occasional pint of "brown owl" is a small price for the serious scholar to invest in original research!

Firstly, like any other anthropologists/linguistics pursuing scholarship in less trodden regions unknown to TWA tours, I found over and over again an excessive eagerness to supply me data, as Africans will virtually invent ceremonies for the folklore boys. I was never allowed to suffer the disappointment of going home empty-handed even if the vocabulary offered was of suspiciously recent minting. I wanted rhyming slang: "Go on, be nice, oblige the chap, Bert" and examples of rhyming forms were agreeably provided and approved by a circle of friends: "Surely you've 'eard that one, Perce?". . . ."Oh yus, I must have." The evasive verbs in the response led to checking and the discovery that that form was unknown to anyone polled in London except the willing and overinventive Bert and Perce. (It seems likely that these terms were invention--rhyming slang forms are easy enough to construct and there are some that ought to exist. But it is always remotely possible that some people really can recall ur-forms, long lost

to common usage--another rich research topic.) The items haphazardly collected and described here are authentic and however impossibly arcane they may appear in California they are well-known and commonly used. The extreme intimacy and commonness of the items suggest the likely regularity of their usage. There seems absolutely no logical reason for most of the phrases except the rhyme; the semantic link is minimal or nonexistent. Some connections are comprehensible. Trouble and strife /rhyme/ wife has a touch of that sardonic cockney humor on the subject of wedlock, and a loaf of bread /rhyme/ head has a shape equivalence because the large round "cottage" loaf was the usual style until the introduction of the rectangular presliced wrapped form that apes American marketing. A second arbitrary feature appears to be the haphazard and casual nature of the decision to eliminate the terminal rhyming element for brevity.[1] In some terms ellipsis is common, in others inadmissible; a few seem to be somewhat debatable or optional forms.

A term like "loaf" (loaf of bread /rhyme/ head) is so common that it is like a dead metaphor used repeatedly without even the thought of its metaphorical antecedent. Tit for tat /rhyme/ hat is intermediate in an unusual way. Perhaps because of the embarrassing consequences of having "tit" stand alone a hat is regularly referred to as a "titfer", (a device similar in its elision to the name for the old piece of bedroom china; "a goesunder"). But skin and blister /rhyme/ sister is never reduced. Whether this is for the slightly less close association between another individual and personal features and possessions or whether the awkwardness of "skin" standing alone is unacceptable was never clear. My informants did not seem concerned to speculate on the why's and wherefore's of the data they proffered. Those reaches of socio-linguistic theorizing were left to the enquirer. Pressed to hazard opinions on knotty points they retired to their pints of mild and bitter muttering resentfully. No one likes to be attacked with unanswerable questions.

The result is that generally speaking, one can rarely make speculation on the origins of these forms. One retreats to the well-known adage about illogical and arbitrary nature of language symbols and rather considers the usages discovered in this lexical area. The terms which I was able to discover and check as commonly existing can be conveniently grouped not by the form or their rhyming element, but by the association of the items referred to. As observed earlier, they are the most basic day-to-day elements of localized and personal vocabulary.

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[1]Franklyn in A Dictionary of Rhyming Slang, Julia Franklyn, London, 1960, claims that curtailing is only possible when "the curtailer represents two syllables. If it does not, then the entire rhyme is given." This is clearly incorrect.

Terms were discovered for:

1. Members of the family.

   a. trouble and strife /rhyme/ wife.
      (also, joy of my life.)
   b. skin and blister /rhyme/ sister.
   c. currant bun /rhyme/ son.
   d. pot and pan /rhyme/ old man--usually father.

None of these terms can be reduced in speech except a debatable usage with wife = trouble, in "here comes my trouble." (as opposed to "here comes trouble!"). There must be a daughter term and I have heard "bother" as a possible rhyme for both brother and mother but could not confirm. It seems too obvious to be likely.

2. Parts of the body.

   a. loaf of bread /rhyme/ head.
   b. plates of meat /rhyme/ feet.
   c. Boat Race /rhyme/ face.
   d. Mince pies /rhyme/ eyes.
   e. Barnet Fair /rhyme/ hair.
   f. German Bands /rhyme/ hands.
   g. North and South /rhyme/ mouth.
   f. Bushel and Peck /rhyme/ neck.

All these terms can be and usually are, used without the rhyming term. Eyes are double and therefore the single word is the ungrammatical plural "minces"--as in such defensive phrases "I never laid me minces on it." I have a doubt whether "Barnet" has much usage but I like its association with a London market going back to premedieval times. The unexpected "Boat Race" refers to the Oxford and Cambridge universities' spring sculling match along the Thames. It used to be a great national occasion. Children at school were, unlikely themselves, to get beyond six years of elementary education but would commonly wear the dark or light blue favors of the crews and fight violently in support of their chosen varsity team. I can make no speculation concerning the source of those "German Bands," though it is more likely to be Victorian than a wartime term. North and South is used in an irritated tone. "Shut your North and South or I'll . . ." Bushel separates from its rhyme-word in such cheerful invitations as "Get that lot down your bushel."

3. Items of clothes.

   a. whistle and flute /rhyme/ suit.
   b. almond rocks /rhyme/ socks.

c. sky rocket /rhyme/ pocket.
d. tit for tat /rhyme/ hat.
e. dicky dirt /rhyme/ shirt.
f. Peckham Rye /rhyme/ tie.
g. daisy roots /rhyme/ boots.

"Whistle" is common for suit though I have not heard "almond" in much use. The interesting middle ground of "titfer" has been remarked upon earlier. Only "sky rocket" seems definitely to require both elements to be spoken. "Sky rocket" is obviously not a recent reference to aerospace but to the perennial joys of the fireworks lit on Guy Fawkes Night (November 5). The occasion is still lustily celebrated to the point of arson. "Dicky dirt" is interesting as supplying a possible etymology for "dicky", those old detachable shirt fronts employed in those days of economical laundering when collars and cuffs were also removable leaving the body of the shirt, invisible under the jacket, to yellow unseen. "Peckham Rye" is a street in southeast London renowned for its cut-price markets and might record an early source of sartorial purchase. Boots are presumably firmly located in the soil like plant roots.

4. Drink.

a. finger and thumb /rhyme/ rum.
b. pig's ear /rhyme/ beer.
c. Rosie Lea /rhyme/ tea.
d. elephant's trunk /rhyme/ drunk.

There must have been terms for gin and brandy but enquiry produced only lewd though rhythmic couplets about the sexually invigorating consequences to be derived from their hearty imbibing. "Mother's ruin" is a most common term for gin but the rhyming element is minimal. Who was the famous "Rosie"? A recent late night movie in L.A. produced the casual dialog, "'Ere's thruppence, luv, get yerself a cuppa rosie." "Char" in "a cuppa char" goes back through Arabic chi to distant Asian borrowings and is perhaps now more common. "He's elephant," is a fairly common euphemism for drunk.

5. Euphemisms.

a. horse and cart.
b. pony and trap.
c. Jimmy Riddle /rhyme/ piddle.
d. lemon and dash /rhyme/ splash (or slash?) therefore urinate.
e. Hampton Wick.
f. Berkshire Hunt.

g. Khyber Pass /rhyme/ arse.
h. cobbler's awls /rhyme/ balls, testicles.

The first two of these are not reduced, perhaps for the delight in enunciating them. The terms are clearly formed prior to the introduction of the horseless carriage, perhaps at a period when horse manure was a common filth on London roads. The others are abbreviated. It is from Berkshire Hunt we get Berk--see later. "Stick it up your Khyber" is a well-known invitation rarely accepted. "He got it right in the cobbler's" is a comment of satisfaction or commiseration. There are several others in this catagory since the topic has widely popular folk appeal!

6. Miscellaneous.

a. apples and pears /rhyme/ stairs.
b. weeping willow /rhyme/ pillow.

Going up the "apples" is common. Reduction of the "weeping willow" is permissible only in the extended form "weeper". "I put me 'ead on the old weeper and that's the last fing I knew."

c. butcher's hook /rhyme/ look.

Butcher's in the form "Gimme a butcher's" used to be very common but it seems to be losing ground to terms like decko, "let's have a decko" which has no rhyming antecedent. Of course, butcher's hooks themselves are less commonly seen now with meat in cold storage rather than hung in windows.

d. dicky bird /rhyme/ word.

A charming term invariably accompanied by a characteristic look and tone of ingenuous hurt surprise "Who me teacher? I never said a dicky (bird), honest."

e. Mutt and Jeff /rhyme/ deaf.

Suggest a dating from its association with the early American comic strip. It might be considered a kindly type of euphemism. Not separable in use, perhaps because of its relative rarity.

f. Harry Tate /rhyme/ state = mess; either physical (dirty) or emotional (agitated).

Both forms will be used in such expressions of concerns and sometimes malicious delight as "Blimey 'e wasn't 'alf in a 'Arry Tate." Harry Tate was a particularly beloved comedian who reigned in the

Edwardian music halls (English vaudeville).

g. half inch /rhyme/ steal.

This form is a kind of euphemism since it refers only to that thelving which is not considered morally reprehensible. Petty pilfering from work in some trades seems virtually considered a legitimate perk. This deed is accomplished by:

h. tea leaf /rhyme/ thief.
i. eighteen pence /rhyme/ sense.

used particularly between old and young, such as a workman and his apprentice. "Wotyer doin? Ain't yer got no eighteen pence?"

j. bull and cow /rhyme/ row, fight.

The sexual division reminds one that the term should properly only be applied to a marital quarrel and does not cover a man to man fist fight. A neighbor might report with gossipping relish "They weren't half 'aving a bull and cow."

k. Jack Jones /rhyme/ alone or on one's own.

In spite of the 's' on Jones, the rhyme is established with own. Various other members of the Jones family are employed in this context but Jack is the most popular and can stand alone when a person laments that he finds himself "All on his Jack".

l. rabbit and pork /rhyme/ talk.

An inexplicable phrase but the first part is very commonly heard. "She didn't 'half rabbit on."

m. Mother Hubbard /rhyme/ cupboard.

An obvious connection with the nursery rhyme. Mother is never used alone in this meaning.

n. Johnnie Horner /rhyme/ corner.

No particular person is known to have donated his name to this phrase. To go round the Johnnie (Horner) is a standard term to indicate that a person is going round the corner for a drink at the local pub.

A couple of minor observations. There are certain phrases that look as if they ought to be rhyming slang and turn out to have other origins. "Black and tan," for example, is simply dark stout and light beer mixed--a color phrase. Items like "hammer and tongs"

appear to have metaphorical origins on the lines of raining cats and dogs rather than rhyming backgrounds. It is also interesting to note that no money terms remain. The numerous rhyming forms are listed in Partridge, et al., but they are not current. The money slang seems to be from other sources. Besides the plethora of bookmakers' terms for high value notes, the cheery tanners and bobs are not rhyming remnants and are anyway now lost to the economic convenience of decimalization. There are a series of rhyming terms that have become so commonly used that their origin is completely forgotten. "Tiddly wink" is rhyming slang for "drink" but rarely used as such. Yet it is the origin of the all pervasive term "tiddly" meaning slightly drunk in a cheerful way. "Raspberry tart" was a rhyming slang euphemism but it remains now only to indicate the vulgar noise known in the States, I believe, as a Bronx cheer. It has become sufficiently detached from its origin to have acquired purely metaphorical force. Someone can be shown disrespect and "given the raspberry" without any actual sound being required. I have never heard of Scapa Flow (scene of a major naval battle) in its meaning of "go" but it is a possible origin of the very common verb "scarper" to run off or run away. It is sufficiently common that it can be fully conjugated like any other verb--"I scarpered..." "She's scarpering..." The most common London word for money is lolly. This derives from the rhyming slang lollipop /rhyme/ drop in the sense of a tip and thus all amounts of money. "Rip and tear" /rhyme/ swear remains in common usage as "rip" and it seems possible that "He ripped into me" and by extension "Let her rip" are derived from this source. "Brass tacks" remains in common use in its complete form as meaning "facts". But it seems unlikely that the average speaker realizes that "getting down to brass tacks" is rhyming slang rather than a metaphor.

This essay does not attempt to make a thorough or even formal study of a variety of rhyming slang forms still used by cockney. To attempt that it might require the kind of research that defeats its object by enforcing inappropriate socio-linguistic order upon an engagingly haphazard and cheerful series of casual images. This perhaps too flippant report is a kind of record of affection in response to many light-hearted friendships and associations made in evenings in London when the day's study of "serious scholarship" was put aside.

What has all this to do with ESL? Perhaps only marginally it touches upon a minor aspect of bidialectology which is being seen as just as important an aspect of our work today as the topic bilingualism which occupied our studies during the last decade. Cockney with its extended tradition makes a classic example of that tenuous ground staked out by dialects between externally imposed change and defiant local resistance. Besides these significant imponderables some understanding of certain phrases becomes a useful if not an

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essential part of the process of attuning the visitor's ear to the rhythms of London speech and its peculiar usages. Equipped with such knowledge, if you accidentally tread on someone's toe or knock over his beer and he calls you "A proper Charlie" or "A right Charlie" you will no longer be able to comfort yourself with believing it to be some cheerful reference to the clowning of Charlie Chaplin; rhyming slang would give you the sense that serious irritation has been provoked. A little knowledge might similarly even help the American advertisers who make investments in commercial messages that occasionally carry unanticipated associations. The following is a news item from a recent London evening paper reproduced in its entirety.

> United Artists presented a lot of people with a difficult decision when they put out posters for The Revolutionary. The posters said that Jon Voight was something that no newspaper was prepared to print. Some got into the Tube before the London Transport drew the line. They agreed to accept another word in place of the first. So did the newspaper advertising departments. The second word was "burke".
> Presumably neither United Artists nor anyone else cared that it should be spelled "berk". Which as any old Cockney could tell them is a rhyming slang clue for a word quite the opposite of the first. And far LESS acceptable.

It is the kind of situation that would delight that "old Cockney". Nothing amuses his tribe more than the pit of folly into which the pretentious trip when they exhibit their ignorance of their tenaciously private and resilient culture which may well deserve a more comprehensive and thorough linguistic survey than the casual remarks of this traveller's diary provides.

PHONETICS VS. PHONEMICS IN THE ESL CLASSROOM: WHEN IS ALLOPHONIC ACCURACY IMPORTANT?

Clifford H. Prator

1. Explanation of Terminology

The above title, suggested by the sponsors of this series for this paper, seems to require explanation and amplification.* The technical terms contained in the title and the concepts to which they correspond were developed largely by the predominantly American school of linguists now known as the 'structuralists'. For teachers of English, the structuralist approach to linguistic analysis is associated with such names as Edward Sapir, Leonard Bloomfield, Kenneth Pike, Charles Fries, George Trager, and Henry Lee Smith.

It was a structuralist tenet that the analysis of a language must begin at the phonological level. As he listened to an unknown language spoken by an informant, a skilled analyst would be able to detect the recurrence of scores of different speech sounds. He would assign to each of these recurring sounds an appropriate phonetic symbol and then use the symbols to prepare the most accurate possible transcription of an extensive sample of the language. One of his first concerns was to try to determine which of the many differences between sounds that he heard corresponded to differences in meaning in this particular language.

For example, the analyst may have noted the occurrence of both a nasalized [ã] and another [a] that was not nasalized. He must then decide if this is a meaningful distinction. He will know that it is meaningful if he can find in his sample two words that have different meanings but that sound alike except that the one, for example [kãt], has a nasalized [ã] where the other, [kat], has the non-nasalized [a]. If he finds such a minimal pair, he has determined that /ã/ and /a/ are phonemes in the language with which he is concerned. A phoneme is then, among other things, a unit of sound that can be the sole element whereby one word is distinguished in meaning from another. In most languages there is a general, though by no means complete, correspondence between the phonemes and the letters with which the language is normally written.

Now let us suppose the opposite case, that our analyst is unable to find proof that the distinction between [ã] and [a] is meaningful---that is to say, phonemic---in the language on which he is working. He would then suspect that the distinction is merely a phonetic one, a difference that he can hear but that does not affect meaning. He might discover that the nasalized [ã] occurs only before the nasal consonants [n] and [m], and that the non-nasalized [a] never occurs in such a position. If so, he could make several statements about the status of [ã] and [a] in this particular language:

1. That the two sounds are in complementary distribution in that they never occur in the same phonetic environment;
2. That the positions in which each can occur are predictable;
3. That the two are therefore variant pronunciations of the same phoneme rather than two separate phonemes.

The technical term for such a variant pronunciation is an 'allophone'.

We can now provide definitions for several other concepts that are essential for the purposes of this paper. Phonetics can be defined

as the science which attempts to describe all the distinguishable sounds that occur in the languages of the world. Phonemics, on the other hand, attempts to discover which of the differences among the sounds of a given language are meaningful and to determine what allophones each of the phonemes of the language has. Phonemics thus organizes and in a sense simplifies the extensive raw data provided by phonetics. A phonemic transcription would represent only the phonemes, the meaningful units of sound that occur in the utterance transcribed. A phonetic transcription would usually show much finer distinctions among sounds, representing various allophones of each phoneme.

In the phonemic transcription proposed by Trager and Smith in 1951[1] and used in many ESL textbooks since that date, the English sentence 'I could use a little food now' might appear like this: /ay kɨd yuwz ə lɨtɨl fuwd naw/. A phonetic transcription of the same sentence would look more like this: [ay kʰɨd yuw:zˣ ə lɨt̚ɨ̞ fuw:dˣ nãw]. The extra symbols used in the phonetic transcription would call the attention of a student of English to the following facts:

1. That the [k] of 'could' is aspirated---accompanied by the audible friction of exhaled air;
2. That the vowel of 'use' is longer than, for example, the vowel in the noun 'use' [yuws];
3. That the final [z] of 'use' begins with voicing (vibration of the vocal chords) and ends without voicing;
4. That the [t] of 'little' sounds somewhat like a [d];
5. That the final [l] of 'little' follows [t] directly with no intervening vowel sound;
6. That the vowel of 'food' is longer than the vowel in 'hoot' [huwt];
7. That the [d] of 'food' begins with voicing and ends without voicing;
8. That the vowel of 'now' is nasalized.

The phonemic transcription of the sentence does not in itself provide such information.

We can now return to the title of this paper and begin the examination of the question that it poses: "When is allophonic accuracy important?"

2. Related Questions

For the English teacher the question implies a number of other questions. When is information about the formation of sounds such as that itemized above relevant to the classroom? If transcription is used in teaching pronunciation, when if ever should it be a phonetic rather than a phonemic transcription? What degree of accuracy should a teacher expect his students to achieve in pronouncing English?

Such questions seem particularly pertinent in today's rather uncertain climate of thought about the methodology of language instruction. Not many years ago methodologists, especially American methodologists, tended to insist that language teachers should not be satisfied until their students learned to approximate the pronunciation of a native speaker of the language. Students were urged to forget their inhibitions and to strive to produce a completely accurate imitation of a native model, including "mimicry of every detectable mannerism".[2] Not only was the aim set very high, but there was much talk of achieving

mastery of the phonological system before any serious effort was made to deal with the grammatical system or the vocabulary of the language.[3] The opening sections of many textbooks provided days or even weeks of pronunciation drill that was to be carried out before any attempt was made to acquaint students with the words and structures that were being pronounced.[4]

More recently, as doubt has been cast on the validity of the basic tenets of a narrowly orthodox audio-lingual method, we have inclined both to lower our sights with regard to the degree of accuracy we expect in our students' pronunciation, and to concentrate less on pronunciation in the early stages of instruction. In other words, there is a feeling that the student of a language has many more important things to do than to put a fine polish on his pronunciation and that the polishing process can well be postponed for a while. This tendency has been strengthened in the United States by our growing hesitation to impose a 'Standard English' accent on Black and Chicano children in American schools. Some of our British colleagues have even gone so far as to argue that the second-language varieties of English that seem to be growing up in such countries as India and Nigeria provide perfectly suitable models for imitation in those countries and that the polishing process can therefore be dispensed with altogether.[5]

In the absence of any consensus regarding the degree of accuracy to be sought in teaching pronunciation, most teachers will probably want to take a position somewhere between that of the champions of absolute allophonic accuracy and that of the methodologists who insist on no more than an ability to produce a rough approximation of phonemes. If a teacher is to apply such an intermediate position in the classroom, he will need to distribute the attention he devotes to pronunciation according to some system of priorities. That is to say, he will have to decide which elements of pronunciation he will emphasize initially and which elements can be dealt with briefly or can be postponed until later stages in his students' development.

It seems to me, then, that the questions so far raised in this paper can most profitably be considered within the framework of this larger question of priorities in teaching pronunciation.

3. Distinctive-Feature Analysis

In seeking answers to a practical question such as which elements of pronunciation should be emphasized and taught first, teachers of English have learned to turn to the descriptive linguists for relevant facts and possible theoretical guidelines. And as Americans we tend, rightly or wrongly, to look first to the most recent work done by these linguists.

Most of the work that is being done in this country today on English phonology is being carried out within the generative-transformational framework first elaborated in 1957 by Noam Chomsky in his Syntactic Structures. Even if time permitted, it would hardly serve the purposes of this paper to tr to explain what generative-transformational grammar is all about. Perhaps we can assume that by now all conscientious ESL teachers are familiar with at least the basic principles of the Chomskian approach to grammatical analysis. Teachers are less likely, however, to be acquainted with recent work done by Chomsky

and his co-workers in applying generative-transformational techniques to the analysis of English phonology.[6]

This work is referred to as distinctive-feature (or generative) analysis because it uses distinctive features rather than phonemes as the basic analytical unit. A distinctive phonetic feature is a quality like openness or tenseness that combines in various ways with other such qualities to constitute the speech sounds of a language. Each characteristic combination of distinctive features could thus be regarded as a phoneme. Actually, the distinctive-feature phonologists tend to doubt the value of the structuralists' phoneme as a unit, and of traditional phonemics as a separate level, of linguistic analysis. They draw no distinction, as did the structuralists, between a phonemic and a phonetic representation of speech. It is then not possible to discuss such questions as "Phonetics versus Phonemics in the ESL Classroom" or "When is Allophonic Accuracy Important?" in terms of current distinctive-feature analysis.

For language teachers this is perhaps a disappointing conclusion. One would have hoped that a type of phonological analysis that breaks speech sounds down into their component qualities might cast some light on the relative importance of these qualities to comprehension: that it might, for example, tell us whether the feature of voicing or the feature of aspiration in most important in distinguishing 'could' [kʰud] from 'good' [gud]. But Chomsky and his co-workers are interested in distinctive features for 'classificatory purposes'---to show how certain words are phonologically related to other words---rather than as a guide to more understandable pronunciation.[7]

We must certainly not conclude, however, that distinctive-feature analysis is irrelevant to the larger question of priorities in teaching pronunciation. In fact this type of analysis has already cast a great deal of new light on a very important facet of the pronunciation of English, one that has been largely ignored in textbooks and pronunciation manuals: that is, the systematic relationship between spelling and pronunciation.

Teachers of ESL have long been aware that the grammatical errors their students make can be divided into two large categories. There are those grammatical errors caused by interference from the students' mother tongue and there are also those that arise when a student makes a false analogy within the grammatical system of English. An example of the first type of error is provided by the student who sees no need to distinguish between masculine and feminine pronouns and who therefore refers to a woman as 'he' because his mother tongue has only one third-person singular pronoun. We hear an example of the second type when a student says "Please explain me that question" because he has learned to say "Please ask me that question" and does not realize that the sentence pattern he used with 'ask' cannot be used with 'explain'.

What has not been so widely recognized is that errors in pronunciation usually fall into two similarly distinguished categories: those caused by mother-tongue interference and those caused by false analogies drawn from the English system of spelling. Textbooks have dealt almost exclusively with errors of the first type: inability to distinguish between /iy/ and /i/, or the substitution of /d/ for /ð/. They have paid little attention to errors of the second type, such as pronouncing 'bone' as /bən/ by analogy with 'done' and 'one', or

stressing 'electricity' on the second syllable by analogy with 'electric' thus producing something like /iléktrisitiy/. Yet errors of this latter type are widespread among students of ESL who are familiar with English spelling. And such errors can do as much as any others to make learners of English difficult to understand.

Why have spelling-based errors in pronunciation been so largely ignored by textbook writers and teachers? Perhaps because of several beliefs often held by those trained in the audio-lingual methods favored by the structuralists:

1. That all contacts with written English should be postponed as long as possible;
2. That so little of English spelling is systematic that it would do more harm than good to try to relate spelling to pronunciation;
3. That if reading can be postponed until students master the phonological system, the harmful influence of English spelling on pronunciation can somehow be minimized.[8]

Today these beliefs seem to be rapidly losing their force. Experimentation in ESL classrooms has shown that long postponement of reading tends to delay rather than to facilitate over-all progress in language learning.[9] We are beginning to wonder if there is anything to be gained by postponing exposure to written English, since such exposure is usually inevitable in the long run and the teacher will eventually have to cope with its effects on pronunciation anyway. Finally, in view of the results obtained by generative analysts, it appears increasing likely that English spelling can be related to pronunciation in ways that will be helpful rather than harmful.

Chomsky and his group have shown, for example, that the placing of stress on English words can usually be predicted from spelling patterns. It therefore seems possible that, if students could be made aware of the basic principles that govern stress placement, they might find it easier to stress words correctly. Much new light has also been shed on the systematic relationship between the so-called long and short vowels of English in such pairs of words as 'sane' and 'sanity', 'meter-metric', 'line-linear', and 'cone-conic'. It should be possible to construct pronunciation exercises that would help students internalize these relationships and thus cope more adequately with the varying vowel qualities and stresses in families of words such as 'ratio-rational-rationalize-rationalistic' and 'phone-phonics-phonetics'. In a paper presented at the last TESOL Convention under the title "Linguistics, Spelling, and Pronunciation",[10] Sanford Schane suggested some of the possibilities.

I would urge, then, that in teaching pronunciation we place a considerably higher priority than we have in the past on activities designed to help our students relate spelling and sound, stress and vowel quality, and roots and derivations. This priority would naturally be highest at advanced levels of instruction, when students begin to read extensively and to develop large vocabularies.

4. Structuralist Analysis

If we now turn back to the type of phonological analysis carried out by the structuralists, we will find even more in the way of facts and concepts that seem applicable to the problems raised in this paper. This is not surprising since, as I pointed out earlier, the question posed in the title of the paper is framed in structuralist terms.

Many methodologists and language teachers agree that the concept of the phoneme is one of the most useful concepts developed by the descriptive linguists.[11] I tend to concur, despite the fact that the distinctive-feature phonologists have found little use for the phoneme in their work. I believe the phoneme is useful and that teachers of ESL should be familiar with the concept, precisely because it does provide a considerable amount of guidance in deciding how to assign priorities in teaching pronunciation.

We can, with some confidence, take the position that, since phonemic distinctions correlate with meaning, they are more important than allophonic distinctions to a student who is learning a language in order to be able to communicate meaning in it.[12] If the student substitutes one phoneme for another, he has made a word meaningless or even given it a meaning other than that he intended, unless the context makes the intended meaning unmistakable. On the other hand, if he produces an unnatural allophone, the possibility that a hearer will fail to understand him or will misunderstand him is presumably much slighter. The substitution of one allophone for another does not, at least theoretically, change the meaning of a word.

Having assigned a higher priority to phonemic distinctions and a lower priority to allophonic distinctions, we can then go on to subdivide both types. The Trager-Smith analysis of English phonology divides phonemes into two subgroups: the segmentals and the suprasegmentals. The segmentals are the vowel and consonant sounds which, of course, follow one another in a fixed order in any word. The suprasegmentals are phonetic elements such as pitches, stresses, and junctures, which are combined in various ways to form meaningful patterns of stress and intonation. Suprasegmentals are so called because they can extend over a whole series of segmentals.

Perhaps an example will be helpful in reminding us of the kinds of meaning that may be attached to combinations of suprasegmentals. We suppose a brief conversational exchange between two speakers. Speaker One says "I've just read a good book." Speaker Two replies with the single word, 'what'. If Speaker Two begins the word on a high pitch and ends it on a low pitch---"What?"---he is merely asking Speaker One what he has read. If a normal pitch comes first followed by a high one ---"What?"---Speaker Two means something like: "I didn't understand what you said; please repeat it." And there is still a third possibility. Speaker Two may begin on a normal pitch and end on one that is extra high---"What?" If he does, he is insinuating something like: "You! Reading a good book? You are much too stupid for that."

There are several strong arguments for assigning to the suprasegmentals the highest of all priorities:

1. They convey the kind of meanings, both grammatical and lexical, that the context alone would seldom make clear;
2. They affect the intelligibility of entire series of segmentals;
3. With control of suprasegmentals, it is easier to learn to produce segmentals accurately: vowel quality depends on stress, falling and rising pitches facilitate diphthongization, etc.

Structuralist analysis also provides for dividing allophones into subgroups. There are those that are in complementary distribution and those that are in free alternation. We say one allophone is in complementary distribution with another when the two never occur in the

same phonetic environment and when the environments in which each does occur are entirely predictable. In the first section of this paper I gave an example of a pair of such allophones: a nasalized [ã] occurring only before [n] and [m], and a non-nasalized [a] occurring elsewhere. Allophones in complementary distribution are a significant element in the phonological structure of a language, and native speakers of the language seem to depend on them heavily in recognizing words.

The other subgroup of allophones is made up of those whose occurrence is not predictable in terms of their phonetic environment, though it may be more or less predictable in other ways. For example, the final sound of the English word 'with' in the environment 'come with me' is sometimes entirely voiceless, sometimes partially voiced. Such variation may be observable in successive occurrences of a word in the speech of a single individual. Or it may distinguish one individual's speech from another's within a dialect group, or the speakers of one dialect from the speakers of another. Allophones of the type exemplified by the two ways of pronouncing the final sound of 'with' are, then, said to be in free alternation. Since listeners are usually accustomed to hearing such variations and attach no meaning to them, they cause no difficulty in comprehension.

It therefore seems safe, in teaching pronunciation, to assign to allophones in free alternation the lowest of priorities. I believe that we can, in fact, take the position that under most circumstances it is a waste of time for a teacher to insist that students imitate an individual's free allophonic variation, or allophonic variation within or between well known dialects of American and British English.

Using structuralist concepts, we have thus arrived at a four-level hierarchy of priorities that appears applicable in dealing with the type of pronunciation error that is caused by interference from the students' mother tongue. In the order highest to lowest, priority would be assigned to teaching:

1. Suprasegmental phonemes,
2. Segmental phonemes,
3. Allophones in complementary distribution,
4. Allophones in free alternation.

The question posed in the title of this paper, "When is allophonic accuracy important?", seems to call for still finer distinctions to be drawn within the category of allophones in complementary distribution. I must confess at once that I shall not be able to provide a fully satisfactory answer based on established linguistic theory or on rigorous experimentation. The best that I can do will be to hazard a few suggestions based primarily on an intuition that has been developed through long experience in the classroom. This is an expedient to which teachers of ESL are all too often reduced in seeking answers to the practical questions with which they are faced.

Several linguists have attempted theoretical explanations of when allophonic accuracy is important, but their answers do not seem particularly helpful. Robert Lado, in his Linguistics across Cultures, assumes that in a given language certain distinctive features are phonemic (or 'dominant') and others are nonphonemic. He considers that in English voicing is phonemic but aspiration is not. He would thus give voicing a higher priority than aspiration in teaching his students to distinguish, for example, between /p/ and /b/. But Lado's way of determining which

features are phonemic is not convincing[13], and some phoneticians would take the opposite position, that aspiration is more important than voicing in enabling speakers to distinguish /p/ from /b/ at the beginning of words.[14]

In an article entitled "Some Allophones can be Important," Yao Shen argues that "allophones provide acoustical clues to the recognition of phonemes"---an argument that few would disagree with.[15] Contrasting English with other languages, she draws up a list of eight situations in which she says that these clues are particularly important. It would appear that by carefully choosing different languages to compare with English one could use her method to prove that almost any allophone in complementary distribution is important for some students. And this may well, in fact, prove to be the truth of the matter, even though it does not help us to establish a general hierarchy of priorities among English allophones.

H. A. Gleason's statement regarding the practical importance of allophones in complementary distribution seems to be typical of the structuralist point of view: "The use of the correct allophones is more important socially than it is linguistically. Though obviously of concern to linguists for many practical reasons, the allophones stand on the margin of his field of study and are in some respects external to language. The use of correct allophones is obviously important to anyone learning a foreign language with intent to speak it. To make himself understood he must learn to pronounce all the phonemes and to use allophones which are sufficiently close to the normal in the language to avoid misidentification. Beyond that there is no need, if he is merely content to be understood, to worry about the allophones. But if he desires his speech to be socially acceptable---that is to sound like that of a native---he must achieve the same use of allophones as is normal in the language."[16]

From such premises it is easy to reach either of two opposite conclusions, depending on one's convictions regarding the objectives of instruction: (1) that we must help our students to develop complete allophonic accuracy, or (2) that it is not really necessary to concern ourselves with allophones at all.

Thus Ana Tataru of the University of Cluj, Rumania, notes what Gleason has to say about the social importance of allophones and, believing that "there can be no doubt that foreign-language teachers have to encourage their students to aim at making their speech socially acceptable and not merely intelligible," concludes that allophones must be taught along with phonemes.[17]

On the other hand, a number of linguists, particularly in Great Britain, who feel that it is usually unrealistic to aim higher than intelligibility and who equate intelligibility with phonemic accuracy as Gleason tends to do, have recently urged that allophones are expendable.[18]

5. Summary and Conclusions

My own classroom experience leads me to a conclusion somewhere between these two extremes. While I would never assign a high priority to allophones, I would certainly not agree that they can be safely ignored. We simply do not know enough as yet about which phonological elements contribute most to the intelligibility of speech to permit us to assume the latter position. Until more information is available,

the safest solution for a teacher of ESL is perhaps one that I have urged previously in writing.[19] That is, to regard unintelligibility not as the result of phonemic substitution, but as the cumulative effect of many little departures from the phonetic norms of the language. Many of these departures may be phonemic; others will be allophonic. But under certain circumstances, any abnormality of speech can contribute to unintelligibility.

We should remember, too, that intelligibility is a relative rather than an absolute quality. It is never possible to say that our students at a certain point in their development have achieved full intelligibility. There are varying degrees of intelligibility, but it is doubtful that even two good friends who speak English as their mother tongue, sitting near one another in a quiet room, make themselves perfectly understood at all times. There is always the possibility, then, of making one's speech more intelligible, so as to be understood by a greater variety of hearers, over a greater distance, or in a noisier environment. If the course of study in English lasts long enough, it seems advisable to include some attention to all the well known allophones at advanced levels of instruction.

Even in a short course, if ability to speak English is an important objective, we should probably include attention to a few of the most important allophones that are in complementary distribution. I would treat first those involving aspiration and vowel length. These two features combine with voicing in different ways to help a listener perceive the difference between the two largest groups into which English consonants can be divided: the so-called voiced and voiceless consonants. Though voicing is usually thought of as a phonemic feature and aspiration and vowel length are said to be non-phonemic in American English, many experimental phoneticians believe that aspiration and vowel length are actually more important clues to the recognition of words.

I would therefore at an early stage encourage my students to pronounce the initial /p/ of 'pet' with the sound of escaping air in order to distinguish it clearly from the initial /b/ of 'bet', which is pronounced with vibration of the vocal cords. Similarly, I would encourage them to lengthen the vowel before the /d/ of 'bed' so as to distinguish it clearly from the /t/ of 'bet'.[20] If the students were adult, I might use a phonetic, as opposed to a phonemic, transcription as a visual aid to call attention to the cases in which aspiration and vowel length should be present or absent.

It might also be well to call attention at an early stage to the existence in English of the rather unusual type of allophones called syllabic consonants. These are heard in words like 'satin', 'little', 'didn't', and 'funnel', where /t/, /d/, or /n/ occurs at the end of a stressed syllable that is followed by a weak syllable containing /n/ or /l/. Under such circumstances no vowel sound is pronounced in the weak syllable, and the syllabic /n/ or /l/ replaces the vowel. Students who cannot produce syllabic consonants tend to pronounce 'didn't', for example, as /dɪdənt/ or /dɪnt/ instead of [dɪdn̩t], with a considerable effect on rhythm and hence on intelligibility.

The over-all hierarchy of priorities for the teaching of pronunciation suggested in this paper would begin, then, with the suprasegmental phonemes that make up intonation and rhythm. Next, in descending

order of importance, would come the distinctive vowel and consonant sounds. After them we might insert, at least for students who are well acquainted with written English, the kind of relationships between spelling and sound, stress and vowel quality, and roots and derivations which the distinctive-feature analysts have been studying. In fourth place would come allophones in complementary distribution, beginning with those involving aspiration and vowel length. And last of all would come allophones in free alternation of an idiosyncratic or dialectal nature.

If these priorities are ever to be confirmed, rejected, or refined, it will presumably be as a result of a type of experimentation that has not often been attempted heretofore. What would apparently be required is extensive investigation into the ability of listeners to identify various combinations of distinctive features as speech sounds. It might thus be possible to establish a statistical criterion for labeling some features of English pronunciation as phonemic and others as non-phonemic, or phonetic. We could then define a phonemic feature as one for the lack of which a given phoneme may be perceived as a different phoneme. The amount of experimentation needed would be enormous, since the average ability of sizeable groups of hearers to identify very large numbers of sounds would have to be found. It would also probably be desirable to test the ways in which speakers of different mother tongues perceive English sounds. But computers and speech synthesizers can do marvelous things, and we must not lose hope.

NOTES

*Originally delivered as a lecture in the 1970-71 series sponsored by the TESOL Association at the Defense Language Institute, Lackland Air Force Base, Texas.

1. George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., An Outline of English Structure, (Norman, Oklahoma: Battenburg Press, 1951).
2. H. A. Gleason, Jr., "Phonemic Problems in Language Learning," in An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, (New York: Holt, 1961), p. 356.
3. Charles C. Fries, Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1945), pp. 3-6.
4. Cf. the Spoken English series prepared under the auspices of The American Council of Learned Societies, particularly, F. B. Agard's El Inglés Hablado (New York: Holt, 1953).
5. M. A. K. Halliday, A. McIntosh, and P. Strevens, The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching (London: Longmans, 1964), pp. 203-204, 294-296, and passim. The case against the position taken by Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens is argued by Clifford H. Prator in "The British Heresy in TESL," in Language Problems of Developing Nations, ed. Joshua A. Fishman et al. (New York: Wiley, 1968), pp. 459-476.
6. The most complete available treatment of the subject is that of Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).
7. Chomsky and Halle, p. 65.

8. Such work as the structuralists have done on the patterns of English spelling was usually oriented toward the teaching of reading rather than toward the teaching of pronunciation. Cf. Charles C. Fries, Linguistics and Reading (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).
9. Frederick B. Davis, Philippine Language-Teaching Experiments (No. 5 of the Philippine Center for Language Study Monograph Series) (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix, 1967), pp. 28-41.
10. Printed in the TESOL Quarterly, 4, No. 2 (June, 1970), pp. 137-141.
11. Cf. Robert Lado, Linguistics across Cultures (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957), pp. 9-50.
12. For an excellent example of a pronunciation manual organized according to this principle, see Paul Schachter, Teaching English Pronunciation to the Twi-Speaking Student (Legon: Ghana University Press, 1962). Chapters are divided into sections dealing with "essentials" (phonemic distinctions) and sections dealing with "details" (allophonic distinctions).
13. Lado defines a phonemic feature as "one which somewhere in the language is used as the only distinctive feature of sound between two phonemes" (op. cit., p. 24, fn. 6). It is difficult to see how, by this criterion, voicing could be classified as phonemic. Spectrographic analyses of English show no cases in which voicing constitutes the only difference between two English speech sounds.
14. A. C. Gimson, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English (London: St. Martin's Press, 1967), p. 148.
15. Language Learning, 9, Nos. 1 and 2 (1959), pp. 7-18.
16. Gleason, An Introduction..., p. 265.
17. "On the Specific Character of Pronunciation," English Language Teaching, 24, No. 1 (October, 1969), pp. 26-27.
18. See, for example, Halliday, et al. The Linguistic..., p. 296.
19. C. H. Prator, Manual of American English Pronunciation (New York, Rinehart, 1958), p. xiv.
20. For a simplified explanation of how aspiration and vowel length reinforce differences in voicing, see "Initial and Final Consonants," in Prator, Manual..., pp. 72-81.

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EXPERIENCE, KNOWLEDGE, AND THE COMPUTER

Earl Rand

I. Despite all the excitement that computers have been generating in education, they are not yet of any real importance, theoretically, practically, or economically, to TESL. So far, their main use has been limited to clerical tasks, which are, by definition, trivial. If every computer were removed from UCLA, we in TESL would hardly notice their absence. First, our students might have to spend a bit more time registering for classes, and second, we might not receive our paychecks on the first day of the month. And a few of us might have to use a hand calculator and slide rule a bit more. In other words, our IBM's, CDC's, and PDP's would hardly be missed.

But this situation is rapidly changing. Six years ago, when I joined the TESL section of the English Department, no one, with the possible exception of Eugene Brière, was using the computer for anything. Now, in typical research for the MATESL, it is used in calculating means, standard deviations, and other statistics. It can, however, be used for more than statistics. For example, this year, three students, Mr. John Street, Mrs. Maria Inal, and Mrs. Jane Marks, have used it to gather and collate, as well as to statistically describe, data.

Street processed twenty samples of English textbooks, counting words and comparing them with the Kucera-Francis list and counting T-units, Kellog-Hunt's endocentric unit of independent clauses plus dependent elements. Then with the computer, he calculated frequencies, means, and standard deviations, and constructed histograms. Finally, with this data, he computed a cluster and a factor analysis of the twenty samples. Inal used the computer to collate responses on a cloze test and compute frequencies. Using Flander's interactional analysis techniques, Marks studied ESL classes. With Kenneth Simes' help, she collated the data and searched for patterns in it.

All three of these students have used the computer as more than a desk calculator, though what they did could have been done by hand. But the fact is that if they had been forced to proceed by hand, much of their work would not have been attempted or would have been abandoned. The computer not only offers speed and accuracy, but it encourages getting the job done. Secondly, it not only gets the job done, but it encourages the researcher to attempt more than he would have otherwise. It is certain that Street's sample of texts would have been much smaller and he would not have done a cluster analysis or a factor analysis of his data without the computer's aid. Nor would Marks have made such a thorough search for patterns. Thus, the computer both encourages the researcher to be more ambitious and makes it possible for him to fulfill many of his ambitious plans.

II. But this same machine has encouraged even a more fundamental change in our field. Neither Street, Inal, nor Marks, nor many of our other students, are doing the type of research in TESL that would have been done a few years ago. Research in those days was principally based on "experience". What students are doing now is more basic: they are gathering "knowledge". They represent the first generation of TESL experts who think in terms of putting knowledge to work before they have gathered five or ten years of experience. Mine is, I think, the last generation of TESLers who measure their value almost entirely by experience. I do not intend to belittle experience,

but only to say that it is not a very good process for moving ahead because it is so rarely empirically tested and it is so extremely difficult to teach. Experience is not "knowledge" in the sense I am using it here. These students are going to apply knowledge to work, a whole new dimension. Skill and experience alone won't make "expertise" any longer, and it is this change, not computers, which is most vivid in our profession. The computer does play a central role because this change is based on the technology of information, and the computer is the future storehouse of information.

We lack empirical information in TESL, and computers can help us remedy this lack. An analogy may be helpful. The computer is to information what the power station is to electricity. It isn't the station that is important, but the electricity that runs all our lights, motors, and machines. It isn't the computer that is important, but the information it collects, stores, retrieves, processes, and provides. The computer is ready, technically, to do all this. We could have a desk covered with gadgets in front of every foreign student in every school (and in his home as well). Besides lacking funds, we lack information as well. That is, we need programs based on knowledge. Like an unused powerplant, the computer is going to waste. The hardware is available. Time-sharing systems are as real as the power lines coming across the desert from Hoover Dam. We lack the programs to administer, collect, process, and retrieve data on our students' learning.

We are in the first stages of a revolution in information, and this revolution should prove much greater than the one caused by the utilization of electricity. Before computers, we had books, a sort of information, just as before electricity, we had steam, a sort of power. But books are a unidirectional source of knowledge in that they provide information to the reader, but not to the author, unless the reader is given a test. Computers, on the other hand, can tell us much about the learner. If we instruct the computer properly, it will tell us the student's successes and failures in using the program. It can give feedback about his responses, response time, choices, and requests for information. With this data, plus other background data on the student, we may be able to determine which factors enhance and which hinder learning. It is its fantastic data collecting and processing power that provides the fuel for this coming revolution.

It is difficult to foresee where this feedback will lead us. So fundamental a change won't only satisfy current needs but will create new ones and make as yet unimagined things possible. It is probably too soon to make any predictions, but here are a couple. First, we, my generation, are going to be frustrated working with the new generation. They will want us to do things which appear impossible to us. For example, psycholinguists are telling us to make our lessons structured both in language and in content, but we hardly have a viable theory of the structure of English and no theory of the structure of behavior. Of course, we should realize that implementing the findings of a thirty-minute experiment into a five-year language program will be difficult. Second, information is going to become cheaper. For example, to make a concordance of a two thousand word text would cost at least fifty dollars if you had a research assistant do it. The UCLA computer can do it, on the other hand, for less than three dollars plus four or five dollars to get the cards punched. Third, a balance will be achieved between our capacity to ask the right question and the computer's capacity to store and use information to help us obtain the right answer. I foresee the development of simple packages of programs, like the Bio-meds and SPSS, in a number of areas useful to TESL, such as computer-assisted and computer-managed instruction,

test construction, administration and analysis, and guidance, simulation, and gaming. Fourth, though we are in an elementary stage, still using this powerful machine as a giant desk calculator, this stage is just about over. We are on the verge of using it, not as a cheap research assistant, but as an information processor. Here "information" basically means the description and control of the learning situation. We will begin to use it to further the goal of enhancing student performance and achievement.

III. Experts have complained about the difficulty of properly using the language laboratory, but the computer is even more difficult to use. To use a tape, even with accompanying pictures, is relatively easy because the teacher turns a great deal of control over to the student. The student gets a cue and responds, and then he himself compares, evaluates, and records his own response. The tape just keeps going. The computer, on the other hand, can be programmed to compare and evaluate the student's response, and keep a record of it as well. But it will do only what we program it to do, taking no initiative to correct our errors of fact or logic. And very little evaluatory judgment is expected from the student. Thus the computer is a complete idiot, and it is in this idiocy that its real strength lies. It only does what we tell it to do. The computer forces us to think, to set the parameters and rules, to tell it what to pay attention to and what to ignore.

The computer will do a trivial job with as much enthusiasm as an important one. Seeing the trivia it can produce makes me thoroughly evaluate what I have done and helps me plan what to do next. It is easy to become flooded with pages and pages of output. It is harder to ask precisely what I need to know.

Thus, it seems to me that the computer's real value lies in making us think through what we are doing, what we want, and where we want to go. There can not be a science without numbers and definitions. We can not put into a computer what we can not symbolize, and it works best with things we can quantify. We can only quantify what we can precisely define. Many assumptions, gained from valuable experience, are as yet poorly defined and unquantified. For example, how important is it that the cues in language practice be concrete as opposed to being abstract. James Asher has given us some information of the differences that actions make in teaching a short course of a foreign language. What about the relative enhancement of learning with cues of actions, objects (puppets or realia), pictures, printed and spoken words? We know that activities and concreteness both promote retention, but we do not know just how much difference they make. We are all too busy to find out. Thus, I propose that the computer be put to work doing some of the routine things we now have to do ourselves. If we let the computer do these, then we can get down to the important task of understanding, validating, and developing the "truths" we have gained from experience. The computer will force us to think precisely and conprovide us with much of the "information" we need to accomplish our task.

NOTES

Earl Rand

Below is listed a number of topics I am interested in and a number of projects I am working on. The topics are divided into three sections: experiments, computers, and materials development.

1. Experiments

a. Cues and Retention. What is the relationship between the concreteness of classroom activities and the retention of lexical items? I hypothesize a linear relation between the type of cue used to teach an item (on a scale from most concrete to most abstract: activity, seeing an activity, an object, a photograph, a line drawing, a printed word, a spoken word) and the student's proficiency in recalling it. As a pilot study, I have selected twenty small, picturable items, made line drawings, and printed the words on cards. I divided my 103J class into two sections, presented the line drawing to one and the printed words to the other. Then the students immediately tried to write down the twenty items, and again after one week. The mean scores were not significantly different. I am collecting a bibliography on this topic.

b. Penmanship. Can handwriting be efficiently taught to foreign students on an individualized basis in a university setting? I have written a forty-page self-instructional programmed text to teach a commonly used style of penmanship. It has been used by five foreign students who wrote in a European style which was difficult for American readers to decipher. I have collected pre- and post-samples of their handwriting, and found a definite improvement. Now I would like a larger number of subjects, an accompanying questionnaire, and independent judgments of the amount of improvement. Also I would like to correlate the amount of improvement and their attitudes with standardized penmanship scales and their own perception of adequate and poor penmanship.

2. Computers

My interest in using computers in TESL is very broad and can only be briefly sketched here. See the 1970 UCLA ESL Workpapers for my general view of this field.

a. Readability. The topic is related to studies of computer determination of disputed authorship which we have all read about in the newspapers and magazines. What features of a text makes it more or less readable than another text? John Street, one of our MATESL students, has been using the computer to determine various linguistic characteristics of ESL and university textbooks used at UCLA in order to determine whether or not the readings in our program progress from simpler to more difficult. A second step will be 1) to have teachers and students judge the difficulty of these passages, 2) to test their difficulty, 3) to obtain some cloze test data, and then 4) to attempt to factor out what it is that makes a reading passage more or less difficult than another passage.

b. Sectioning of large classes. Large classes at UCLA are usually randomly sub-divided into a number of quiz sections or discussion groups. I would like to develop a package of programs and subroutines which would help the

teacher assign the students in his class to quiz sections on a more rational basis. The programs would, after the teacher has fed in data, tell him which students are similar and cluster together. The data would be test scores and questionnaire items. Thus the teacher could knowingly make his quiz and discussion sections homogeneous or heterogeneous. The project would use programs similar to those in the readability study above.
c. Questionnaires. University students and teachers are so bombarded with questionnaires that it may be unwelcome to add three more. I have in mind questionnaires in the areas of 1) what is important in foreign student writing, 2) what is important in teacher-class evaluation, and 3) what are the ESL student and faculty perceptions of our TESL program.
d. Contrastive and Error Analysis. I would like to obtain about a hundred answer-sheets, all making close to an average score, on an objective English proficiency examination. I would like each of the following five groups, Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, and German, to be represented with twenty of the answer-sheets. Then I would program to computer to do a factor and cluster analysis to group the subjects into similar groups. I would hypothesize that the one hundred subjects would fall into five groups which would match their language background. Thus though the groups would not differ on overall performance, they would differ, I think, on the pattern of right and wrong answers.
e. Phonetics. Currently it costs almost twenty dollars to set a page of text into printer's type if it includes many phonetic symbols. The Video-Comp can, however, set approximately six hundred pages an hour at a cost of thirty-five cents per page. However, the current set of characters available in the memory of the Video-Comp computer does not contain common IPA symbols. I would like to program the missing symbols so that phonetics can be cheaply printed.
f. Bibliography. There are a number of systems available for storing and retrieving bibliographical data, and some of these systems are quite easy to use. I would like to begin the development of a major bibliography of materials, especially manuscripts, available in ESL here at UCLA. This would promote up-to-date personalized bibliographies to our staff and students. Currently I have funds to begin collecting citations on the individualization of language instruction and computer-assisted instruction.
g. Computer-assisted instruction. In my composition course next fall and next spring, I would like students to type in their compositions either directly into the computer or on cards so that it can be fed into the computer for preliminary evaluation. Then with that evaluation, they can revise their composition. I think that the computer can make some elementary comments on the style of students' writing.

3. Materials Development.
a. Case Drills. Charles Fillmore of Ohio State University and others have been describing basic English sentences in terms of the labeled relationships between the functional parts, which are called cases. Within this framework, my English 122 class last winter produced a number of drills, which I plan on revising for use in our English 33A-B-C courses.
b. Readings. In 1956, B. S. Bloom edited a book titled, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. Cognitive Domain (New York: David Mackay), which described a set of intellectual levels of cognitive skills. I have devised questions on each level to accompany ten editorials from Science, the journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

They need testing out with students.
c. Composition. Most composition textbooks provide extensive practice in correcting faulty, weak sentences. I have begun a text which stresses building adequate, strong sentences from sets of basic, kernel sentences. For example, the student learns to write parallel structures not by correcting sentences with faulty parallelism but by combining two sentences into a single sentence with parallelism.
d. Behavioral Objectives for Composition. Often the goals of our composition courses are so vague that neither the teacher nor the students know what should be mastered in the course. A set of possible behavioral objectives along with cognitive level and criterion level is being prepared.
e. The English Verbal Auxiliary. The core of the English sentence is its verbal auxiliary, which shows tense, modality, aspect, polarity, and other basic features of English. I have just completed a set of highly structured, mechanical drills designed to assist the student in learning how to manipulate the verbal auxiliary in elementary and advanced sentences.

A READING PROGRAM FOR ESL PRIMARY STUDENTS*

Robert D. Wilson

It is the objective of this paper[1] to describe a reading program that is being researched, designed and developed by Consultants in Total Education for primary students whose mother tongue is other than English under the sponsorship of the Navajo Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of the school systems of Fresno city, Fresno county, and Sanger in California under Title VII. Although the program will differ according to the student population, differ for example in emphasis and in pacing, this program will describe those aspects of the program that make it a program of universal applicability, applicable even to primary students whose mother tongue is English. The reason for this is that a successful reading program includes, almost by definition, teaching strategies that trigger learning strategies that are universal.

This reading program by CITE is part of a total curriculum whose objective is learning how to learn and includes traditional curriculum areas like mathematics and science as well as some new ones like biculturalism and learning how to listen.

I. Stage One

The CITE reading program might be divided into four general stages, namely, learning for reading, learning how to learn to read, learning how to read, and reading for learning. The first stage, learning for reading, includes the following linguistic learning experiences: (1) the development of the student's competence in the second language, directly provided for by approximately 300 lessons in syntax and 150 lessons in phonology, and provided indirectly by the controlled use of the second language in several content areas; (2) sound-spelling correspondences of 150 minimal pairs and triads; (3) several hundred sight words that serve as the pronunciation objective in the content areas of the curriculum; (4) over 200 sight sentences, the phrases of which are systematically color coded according to their grammatical functions; and some sight paragraphs provided in a book entitled Sight and Sound, more paragraphs being provided in the listening strand, a strand which precedes the third stage of the reading program. Besides this linguistic preparation, other aspects of reading readiness are provided, for example, the visual strand, which teaches the student how to learn with his eyes, and the auditory strand, which teaches the student how to learn with his ears. (Motivation, as part of the affective domain of the curriculum and of the learning-for-reading stage, is effected in several ways, only two of which I mention here: directly through consistent success in achieving the objectives of the lessons and knowing that success has been achieved, and indirectly through a bicultural disposition.)

Stage one continues with more second language development, with one sound-spelling correspondences in pronunciation lessons, with more

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*This paper was delivered at the TESOL Convention, New Orleans, in March 1971. An associated paper by Conley Day, "Pre-listening: Teaching Toward Auditory Competence" was also presented.

sight sentences in syntax lessons, with more sight words and paragraphs in the content areas of the curriculum, even as the reading program moves on to stage two.

2. Stage Two

The second stage, learning how to learn to read, is designed to trigger the learning strategies that the students must apply to the task of making sense out of the configuration of the forms on the printed page. The learning strategies are the following: comprehension, comparison, composition, and quickness. Comprehension is the strategy of habitually assuming that the purpose of reading is communication. For example, it is important for the student to believe that, if he can respond to a written instruction that tells him to sit on a chair by actually sitting on a chair, then he has actually read, although he might not be able to pronounce the sentence "sit on a chair" quite like a native speaker of English. Or for him to believe that if he orally reads the sentence "Mary gave the ball to the teacher" as "Mary gave the teacher the ball" that he has actually read in paraphrasing the sentence because he has provided an utterance with equivalent sense.

The second strategy, comparison, is the strategy of discriminating between a pair (or more) of printed forms by associating with the pair the corresponding oral forms, and expecting to see a structural relationship between the printed forms. It is important for the student to believe that he can trust his senses and, perhaps even more important, that he can trust his teacher to provide him with structured data rather than with random data, otherwise he might come to conclude that the appropriate learning strategy is that of rote memorization, which actually is appropriate for random data. It is perhaps not irrelevant here to suggest that it is important for the student to believe that the teacher will not trick him, that for example, there are no hidden exceptions that he, the student, is responsible for. Exceptions are avoided like the plague in the lessons of this program, but should an exception occur it is important for the child to know that the responsibility for even a temporary confusion is the teacher's, not his.

The third strategy, composition, is a strategy well known to teachers as "learning by doing." It is a process by which the students expect that by putting something together they will learn how that something is put together. (In this strategy, too, the student believes that what he is putting together is not a set of random parts. What would you do with bits and pieces of a car's engine, the left rear wheel, and the windshield wipers?)

The fourth strategy, quickness, means quickness of response. Here the student learns that the quickness with which he responds to the printed stimuli, his response being comprehension, is the criterion he must meet. The value of this strategy as well as the value of the composition strategy is based on the assumption that a decoding task, such as reading or listening, is actually done through simultaneous and anticipatory encoding. In simple terms, this means that as you listen to speech you are actually constructing equivalent messages in your mind and because you must make several hypotheses about what the speaker is saying in order to provide for all the possible things he might say, or at least the most probable, you anticipate what he is going to say next. You see then that the task of decoding in listening or reading is accomplished by simultaneous and anticipatory encoding. The process of composition is a natural strategy, a universal strategy for the students to learn. It should also be clear that decoding by encoding requires many more hypotheses to be generated as the students

perform the act of reading or listening. Thus it is important for students to be able to generate hypotheses as quickly as possible in order to generate as many as possible for any given set of stimuli. Observe, too, that the more hypotheses are generated for any given message, a richer semantic interpretation, that is, a greater comprehension, is brought to bear on the message being read. Still, the generation of as many simultaneous and anticipatory hypotheses as possible for any given message is only one side of the coin. I will return to this when I discuss stage four.

These four strategies on how to learn to read are learned through the design of the CITE lesson plan. Each and every lesson plan of stages two and three has all the four major parts. Their sequence and the essential behavior of each is the following:

a. Comprehension:
   1) Teacher introduces or reviews the meaning or reference of the words or sentences.
   2) Teacher introduces the written forms of the words or sentences.
   3) Students respond to the written forms verbally or behaviorally.

b. Comparison:
   Students select the appropriate written form when the spoken form is given, or select the spoken form when the written form is given.

c. Composition:
   Students show awareness of the structure of the words or sentences by composing the whole words or sentences and by changing one into another by substitution, expansion, deletion, and permutation.

d. Quickness Test:
   Students identify the written forms at a comparatively faster speed.
   1) Teacher shows a written form for a short time.
   2) Students identify the written form by reading it or by answering questions.
   3) Teacher shows the written form again, and students evaluate.

Before I proceed to discuss stage three of the CITE reading program, I would like to discuss a point about linguistic structure which is crucial to the presentation of structured data to the students. The point is that a linguistic unit is established, is learned, and consequently should be taught, by both its composition and its environment, by both what it's made of and where it is, by both what it looks like and by the context in which it is seen. For example, compare the pronunciation of the letter "g" in the pair of words "gape" and "page" or of the letter "a" in "mat" and "mate." The pronunciation of the letter "a" in "mate" is not an exception to the way the letter "a" should be pronounced, as it is in "mat." In the same way that the letter "a" in "mate" is pronounced /ey/ because of the presence of the letter "e" at the end of the word, the letter "a" is pronounced /æ/ in "mat" because of the absence of the letter "e" at the end of the word. Or on another level, a particular word form may have several meanings, which is almost always the case, as any dictionary amply demonstrates. Obviously the form of the wrod is not enough for determining the sense of the word at any given use of the word. The sense of the word is established not only by its form but also by other words in the context in which it occurs.

However, extracting the message from the printed page takes more than merely determining the sense of each and every word. Given the sense of a word, say a proper noun like "John," there is still

meaning that has been left out, as the meaning between the two following sentences demonstrates: "Mary gave the pencil to John" and "John gave the pencil to Mary." Observe that in these the word "John" is not merely a word and a part of speech, but it is part of a phrase that has two different grammatical functions. It is the indirect object in one sentence and the subject in the other. The point is that the basic linguistic unit of a sentence is not the word, but the phrase. And by phrase I mean syntactic function. For example, it has long been a definition in traditional grammar that a pronoun takes the place of a noun. Now "boy" is a noun and the pronoun "he" is accepted as a subject replacement of "boy." However, observe that it is not just "boy" that is replaced in the sentence, "The boy left the room." The pronoun "he" replaces both "boy" and the article "the" in the sentence "He left the room." Indeed this sentence might be a replacement for "The fat boy left the room" or for "The boy who ate all those sandwiches left the room" or for "The fat boy who ate all those sandwiches you prepared for your own dear sons left the room." It is the phrases of the sentence that deliver syntactic meaning like subject of, predicate of, object of, temporal adverb of, negative of, etcetera. Indeed, it is these grammatical functions of the phrases which explain the statement that a sentence is greater than the sum of its parts. The importance of learning phrases as syntactic units, their composition and their environment as part of the reading task, cannot be over-emphasized at this time when most curricular efforts in reading concentrate on sound-spelling correspondences and word meaning recognition.

3. Stage Three

The third stage of the CITE reading program, learning how to read, develops a set of strategies for applying the results of the preceding stages. This set of strategies is characterized by the general ability to concentrate. Concentration is viewed as attention developed to a sophisticated skill. And attention is essentially a figure-ground task, that is, the task of attending to what is in the foreground and ignoring what is in the background, to stick to it in spite of distractions, to hold to one's chosen purpose rather than to other competing and appealing purposes. In reading, the figure of the figure-ground task is to comprehend what one is reading and to comprehend as much as possible in as little time as possible. I hesitate to call this speed reading because of the commercialism associated with that phrase, but speed reading it is and it is an objective worthy of our efforts. The faster reader not only reads more of the materials, he also comprehends more of what he reads -- within certain outside limits on the rate of reading.

What then are the distractions to reading, the background that gets in the way of comprehending as much as possible in as little time as possible? One of them is the antithesis of reading fast, that is, reading slowly. Another is lack of confidence in one's ability to retain information and this is demonstrated by readers who go back to what they have already read. This is known as regression. The third is the habit of vocalizing what one reads so that the reading act is slowed down to the pace of speech rather than speeded up to the pace of visual perception.

What strategies then are needed for reading itself? One is the strategy of concentration on the task of comprehending as much as possible in as little time as possible. Another is confidence in the ability to retain information to the extent that regression does not take place. And a third is to habitually assimilate the configuration on the printed page visually rather than through vocalization.

4. Stage Four

The fourth stage of the CITE reading program, reading for learning

involves the general strategies of empirical processing and cognitive processing. In this particular part of the curriculum, empirical processing involves both the selection of questions about the materials to be read with just a minimum of clues and the answering of those selected questions after the material has been read. Observe that the emphasis here is on selecting a set of questions that narrows down the sort of information expected to be extracted from the reading materials This is the other side of the coin of the strategy learned in stage two (and in stage three) of the reading program in which the students were encouraged to generate as many hypotheses, that is, as many questions as possible, about the reading material. A smaller set of anticipatory questions makes for more efficient processing of the reading material while the larger set of anticipatory questions makes for an open mind.

Cognitive processing is a general strategy for the specific use of empirical processing and the cognitive processes used in the CITE reading program are those proposed in A Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I, The Cognitive Domain. They are knowing, comprehending, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and evaluating.

Stage four is not the end of the reading program. These four stages should be recycled throughout the entire school life of students. As the students go through the first cycles of these stages, the emphasis is on the first two stages, learning for reading, and learning how to learn to read. But as they go through more and more cycles the emphasis shifts to the third and fourth stages, learning how to read and reading for learning. I can think of no circumstances that would permit omission of any one of the stages in any cycle during the entire school life of the students.

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Abstracts

Developing Amharic for Modern Use

Yonas Admasu
(Professor Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia, is in great need of developing into a modern language. It needs to develop into a language whose expressive capabilities need to go beyond the "tukul life" of the farmer and extend into the technological and scientific complexities of modern city life. As a language of instruction in the first six grades of school at present it has to be capable of getting English out of the way, and develop fast enough to be used in the higher levels of education for that seems to be the long range plan of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.

In its struggle to emerge as a 'modern language' it has to work in a rather complex situation: at home it is confronted by serious economic, social, and political problems posing as obstacles most difficult to overcome, and dangerous at certain points; it has to develop into the language of a country that is multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and multi-racial; a nation that is not economically developed enough to meet the demands of the people in everyday life; a nation where social, economic, and political inequities prevail.

From without, it has to be able to resist any foreign influence that might threaten its identify. On the other hand, it has to rely on foreign terms and concepts for the expression of modern Ethiopian life which cannot escape progress in technological and scientific fields; this should be true of those areas of life where Amharic cannot readily provide the necessary expressions for.

This thesis, therefore, makes an attempt at exploring possible ways and means by which the development of Amharic can be effected. Theories and principles of language development have been consulted and discussed both in their theoretical forms and in their practical application to other languages; specifically, reference has been made to Hebrew and Swahili in that respect.

The thesis, far from complete or sophisticated, introduces the problem with its tentative solutions; in that respect, it is hoped that the problems and theories discussed will be of some help in any future plan to develop Amharic; otherwise, it is only hoped that this thesis will serve as a stepping stone into future profound research in the field.

The Characteristics of Efficient Reading and Implications for Remedial Reading Techniques with Foreign Students

Alison Margaret Gibson Andrews
(Professor Evelyn R. Hatch, Chairman)

The study sets out to discover what are the experimentally established facts about the mature reading process. It then examines some well-known materials and textbooks on reading improvement to discover whether the assumptions on which they are based reflect these facts. Finally, the implications of these findings for ESL are considered.

Eye-movement studies are examined to find out what is known about the duration and span of fixation of good and poor readers. Studies of visual perception in reading are then surveyed and it is established that efficient reading depends on familiarity with individual words and also on ability to use the context to anticipate what is to come. Reading is seen as an active two-way process where the central cognitive activity of the mind affects the peripheral activity of the eyes just as much as it depends on the peripheral activity of the eyes. It is suggested that it is the good reader's ability to anticipate what he is going to see which enables him to use the wider span of fixation which is a crucial factor in the difference in speed between good and poor readers.

The relationship between subvocalization or "inner speech" and reading is studied.

The survey of reading improvement materials shows that two of the major assumptions about reading improvement--that eye fixations reflect the unit of processing and should be widened and that subvocalization is detrimental and should be forcibly stopped--are unfounded.

It is suggested that ability to utilize redundancy--that of language as a code and that of the information conveyed--is a major factor in efficient reading.

A Contrastive Analysis of Some American and Filipino Attitudes

Agnes Buzon Bernaldo
(Professor Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

The purpose of the study was to make a three-way examination and comparison of attitudes held by two groups of Filipino students, and a group of American students. To determine if there were variances in attitudes between students from two socio-economic backgrounds, the Filipino students chosen as subjects came from two different schools: a public school which attracted students from the lower socio-economic group, and an exclusive private school whose students belonged to the upper socio-economic group.

The principal instrument of inquiry was an original questionnaire consisting of forty items that depicted patterns of behavior related to the American culture, Filipino culture, and items which were not particularly oriented to either culture. A large portion of the items were recast from statements, generalizations, and observations about the American and Filipino cultures as expounded in anthropological writings, foreign accounts, and other sources of information, most of which had been compiled and presented as one chapter in the form of a contrastive analysis of the two cultures.

The results of the study revealed that the American and Filipino students did not share the same attitudes. This was especially evident in items that depicted behavior patterns related to their respective cultures. Only in items that were not oriented to any culture did the groups show some agreement. The two groups of Filipino students in general shared the same attitudes. Negative ratings were given to several American-related behavior patterns. A portion of these same types of patterns, however, received positive ratings from varying numbers of the private-school students. The group was found to have some "Western leanings" or tendencies and their attitudes were found closer to those of the American students. The public school students appeared to be "more Filipino" in their attitudes.

Implications of the study to ESL and suggestions for further study were included in the last chapter.

The Cloze Procedure as a Measure of English Proficiency

Christine Arline Conrad
(Professor John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

This study investigated the feasibility of using the cloze procedure, essentially a paragraph reconstruction exercise, to measure English proficiency of foreign students. Three questions were raised: Can cloze tests distinguish levels of performance between native speakers of English and foreign students? Can cloze tests distinguish levels of proficiency among groups of foreign students? Do cloze test scores correlate significantly with scores obtained on various parts of a traditional type of English placement examination?

A college-level cloze passage of 350 words containing 50 blanks was given to 5 groups of foreign students and 2 groups of native speakers, who were instructed to write in the deleted words. Results were subjected to Analysis of Variance and Duncan's New Multiple Range Test.

The results confirmed all predictions made at the outset. The cloze test distinguished performance significantly between native speakers and beginning and intermediate foreign students. Foreign

students in advanced English classes and beyond did approximately as well as the control group. The mean scores of the three levels of English classes ranked the foreign students in the same way as the UCLA ESLPE.

To test the validity of the cloze procedure, cloze scores for 35 subjects were correlated with scores obtained on five sections of the UCLA ESLPE. The overall multiple correlation coefficient was .88. High correlations were found with the Reading (.80) and Dictation (.82) sections. As these two measure overall skills, it was concluded that the cloze technique is also a good measure of language proficiency. The range of scores within groups, however, indicated that the cloze passage used in this study lacked the precision to measure individual differences.

Traditional Teaching and Learning Among the Hopi Indians

Lillian Jean Kramer Glasser
(Professor Evelyn R. Hatch, Chairman)

This paper is an effort to familiarize teachers of Pueblo Indians, of whom the Hopi Indians are one representative, with the teaching and learning styles of their pupils and the values and premises upon which they base their behavior.

It is an investigation into the socialization practices of the early years, what is important for the child to learn, learning through play, who the teachers and disciplinarians of the society are, the extent of the use of language in teaching, the initiation ceremony as a teaching tool, and the education of the professionals of the culture: priest and medicine man.

Differences in values between Pueblo and Anglo culture are discussed as well as sociolinguistic and semantic barriers, and barriers to learning resulting from contact with the white man.

The data was based on autobiographical material, anthropological data, and personal observation.

Subjective analysis of the data suggests that the problems of the Pueblo child in the school setting do not arise so much from methodological differences, as they do from differences in quality of contact with his teachers, between the home setting and the school setting.

Anglo teachers of Indian children may develop better classroom rapport if they have not only an understanding of the customs and beliefs of their students, but also an emotional appreciation of their individual students and the world-view in which they developed.

Developing Criteria for Evaluating English as a Second Language Reading Material

Alice Joeine Gosak
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

Although the subject of readability has received much attention in the first language situation, little has been done to examine the readability of materials in English as a second language. This study attempts to set down guidelines not only for the materials writer but also for the teacher or administrator who must select reading materials for their students.

A review of materials dealing with readability in both first and second language situations gave rise to some suggested guidelines for use in judging second language materials. These guidelines are only tentative, for they need re-formulation as more information about the unique problems of second language reading are discovered.

A readability formula, adapted from those of Rudolf Flesch, was applied to four readers currently being used in English as a Second Language courses at the University of California, Los Angeles. The findings in this study suggest that until the formulas are subjected to experimentation, their use is limited in second language investigations.

This study then has laid the groundwork for what should prove to be extensive investigation of the many problems surrounding the writing and selection of reading materials in second language situations.

Bilingual Education in California

Tay Lesley
(Professor Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

This study attempts to deal with the current confusion over the expression "bilingual education" and to construct a practical definition of the term based on an examination of bilingual programs in a limited geographical area. The context chosen is California, and the study focuses on both the historical and actual aspects of the question. The historical, or diachronic aspect involves an examination of the origins of bilingual education in California and the evolution in state policy of a trend favoring bilingual education. The actual, or synchronic aspect concerns a study of current programs developed under the Bilingual Education Act and an attempt to classify these according to certain well-defined types.

The study is developed in the following steps:

1) an opening section (comprising Chapters I and II introduces the problem and provides the necessary background to the study;

2) Chapter III treats the historical development of bilingual education in the state;

3) Chapter IV compares current bilingual programs under a variety of categories;

4) a final chapter is devoted to conclusions concerning the study of earlier and current programs, as well as to the discussion of a typology.

Measurements of Ethnocentrism Among Teachers of Minority Students: A Pilot Study

Roger Henry Malstead
(Professor John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

The purpose of this study was to investigate the correlation of several attitude measurements of ethnocentrism. Two direct measurements (The California E-Scale; Minorities and Patriotism Sub-Scale and the Semantic Differential) and two indirect measurements (The Dogmatism Scale and the Information Survey) were administered to thirteen teachers of Spanish surname students in the East Los Angeles area. The results indicated that the two indirect measurements correlated with each other. The others neither correlated with each other nor the indirect measurements. Low correlation may be due to failure to control the variable of social desirability. Subjects appeared to be able to consciously control their responses in order to present a more favorable image of themselves, or because the implications of their prejudiced responses might not be acceptable in their role as teachers of minority children. In place of a single attitude measurement, further research might employ several instruments for assessing ethnocentric attitudes.

Reading Attention Focus: Stress

Susan Ann Part
(Professor Evelyn R. Hatch, Chairman)

Fifty-four university level Ss were tested in a cross-out experiment to determine if stress is significant in reading performance. The Ss fell into three groups of 18: foreign students in an elementary English class, foreign students in a more advanced class, and native speakers of English. Two reading passages for intermediate learners were selected, each containing about 440 words. The Ss read the passages rapidly and for understanding, and simultaneously crossed-out a designated letter in each passage. The letters were a and o. It was hypothesized that, because scanning is influenced by what is known of the stress patterns of the language, the native-

speaker would cross out more letters which occur in stressed syllables than either group of non-native speakers, and that the more advanced non-native speaker would cross out more than the beginner. The group-stress interaction was significant as predicted. It was also found that all groups crossed out a higher percentage of stressed letters than they did unstressed letters. The letter o was crossed out more often than the letter a by all the subjects in almost all cases. This was explained as a result of the unique shape of the letter o.

English Article Usage by ESL University Students, the Correlation of Article Usages with other English Usages and Skills, and the Comparison of Article Usage between Students of Different Language Groups

Elcho Zaire Redding
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This thesis is concerned with research in three basic problems: (1) the ESL university student's knowledge of the usage of articles, ∅ (the null or zero article), a, an, and the, (2) the effectiveness of article usage as a predictor of other English usages and skills, and (3) the comparison of article usage by students whose native language contains articles and students whose language does not. The subjects were 120 university students from 45 different countries, representing 29 different languages. A test of article usage revealed that the indefinite article was the least well known with a mean difficulty of 66 percent on a scale from 0 to 1; the definite article was next at 70 percent; and ∅ was the most well known with a mean difficulty of 74 percent. It was found that the multiple correlation between the subject's knowledge of article usage and other English usages and skills was .88 ($F = 101$, $df = 4/115$, $p < .01$). Subjects whose native language contained articles performed better on a test of article usage ($F = 8.33$, $df = 1/118$, $p < .01$), and on a general test of English usages and skills including vocabulary, reading comprehension, grammar, and dictation ($F = 4.92$, $df = 1/118$, $p < .05$), but did not score significantly higher on a separate grammar test. The scores were plotted on scattergrams and 15 subjects who deleted large sections of the test were excluded. The remaining subjects fell into eight language groups. With the articles scores adjusted by the grammar section of the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE) as covariate a multiple range test yielded three homogeneous subsets each significantly different from the others: Germanic, Semitic, Romance; Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Iranian; and Slavic, Korean, Japanese ($F = 42.89$, $df = 7/95$, $p < .001$). Article scores adjusted by the total scores on the UCLA ESLPE revealed five homogeneous subsets of which the Sino-Tibetan and Romance subset was the most noteworthy because the Romance languages have articles, but the Sino-Tibetan languages do not ($F = 37.90$, $df = 7/95$, $p < .001$).

The UCLA Certificate Program in Teaching English as a Second Language: A Study of Teacher Training

Francis Peter Smolinski
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

Alumni from UCLA's post-graduate Certificate Program in Teaching English as a Second Language were surveyed by means of a mailed, written questionnaire as to their evaluation of the Certificate Program. The questionnaire elicited information from the respondents before entering, while attending, and after leaving the Certificate Program. The alumni responses were analyzed and were used as a basis for investigating this question: do the objectives and methodology of the TESL Certificate Program correspond to the professional and felt needs of the alumni?

At a general level of assessment, the alumni reacted fairly positively to the Certificate Program. The Program had been of value in making them better qualified teachers, in securing employment, and the like. It was also found that the Program had been instrumental in exerting changes on them, professionally and personally.

However, at more specific levels, there was less than favorable assessment of aspects of the Program. There was considerable diversity of opinion among the respondents as to what they believed to be the strengths and weaknesses of the Program. The faculty was thought to be the outstanding strength. An imbalance by an overemphasis of theoretical aspects at the expense of practical and applied aspects was considered to be the major weakness.

The personal professional objectives of alumni did not consist solely of teaching ESL, but would include other facets such as teacher training, materials development, and similar ESL specialist activities. The occupational goals that the Certificate Program was most likely to satisfy did not agree with what respondents believed to be their personal professional objectives in attending the Certificate Program.

Respondents rated courses along a number of dimensions: "usefulness", "enjoyability","success in achievement of course objectives", and others. Only two courses, Methods in Teaching English as a Second Language (English 370K) and Introduction to Linguistics (Linguistics 100) were rated fairly consistently as the two top courses in the Certificate Program. The other seven courses in the Certificate Program were deemed to be in need of revision and improvement, especially Supervised Teaching (English 380K), Advanced Composition for Teachers (English 106K), and Electives.

Foreign Language Aptitude in Children: An Investigation of Current Theory and Research in Interrelated Disciplines

Lois Kreul Smolinski
(Professor John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

A survey of the literature on research and theory related to foreign-language-aptitude testing for children, aged about four to eight, was made. An annotated bibliography listing 144 sources was compiled from the disciplines of English as a Second Language, Child Development, Psychology, Linguistics, Psycholinguistics, and Education.

A discussion of some of the research in adult and older-child foreign-language-aptitude testing, related aspects of child development, and possible factors of foreign-language-aptitude and other achievement predictors in younger children, was provided.

It was concluded that a foreign-language-aptitude test for younger children could be constructed, depending upon the results of further experimentation with potential factors drawn from the adult-aptitude tests, and with test controls drawn from child behavior research. The potential foreign-language-aptitude factors were determined to be short-term memory, auditory comprehension, and phonetic and grammatical flexibility. The controls thought necessary involved matters of literacy, native-language syntax, interest, and concentration.

A Study in Determining Cultural Content: "How Thai Students See America"

Chitra Tiawphaibul
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

In an attempt to determine those aspects of the American way of life that most need to be explained to Thai students in Thailand, particularly, the aspects that a Thai might react to negatively because of the clash with Thai customs and beliefs, a study was conducted on Thai students enrolled in American educational institutions in 24 states during the academic year 1969-70.

The principal method of inquiry was a questionnaire printed in Thai and mailed to the students, a total of 75.5 per cent of the questionnaires were returned.

The results of the survey revealed:

a) That there are many things about American life which must be explained to future Thai students before they come to America to enhance their chances of making a good adjustment.

b) That there are many things in American life which are very much liked, disliked or misunderstood about American customs and habits. Accounts of many crucial personal experiences with

American people were obtained and the students' attitudes resulting both from such experiences and from their several impressions were, for the most part, not unfavorable. In the majority of cases, in fact, their views were quite favorable, even when compared to traits thought to be typical of Thais, toward which they could, of course, be expected to have a natural bias.

c) That there is no predictable way of determining any individual Thai attitude toward any specific aspect of American life, no matter how different it is from the corresponding aspect of Thai life.

The findings of this survey should prove useful to many persons, both Thai and American. It is clear that there is much that the American people can gain by seeing their country through the eyes of friendly foreign observers living with them. The application of this knowledge might be helpful in better preparing Americans, like Peace Corps Volunteers planning to go to Thailand, for their own cross-cultural experiences.